



TRANSLATIONS
OF
CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

GREGORY
THOMAS MARGUS
ADDRESS
TO ORIGIN

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TRANSLATIONS OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

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SERIES I

GREEK TEXTS

GREGORY THAUMATURGUS

TRANSLATIONS OF CHRISTIAN
LITERATURE . SERIES I
GREEK TEXTS

GREGORY
(THAUMATURGUS)
ADDRESS TO ORIGEN

By W. METCALFE, B.D.

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PREFACE

THE name of Origen is inseparably connected with the Catechetical School of Alexandria, over which he presided for almost thirty years (A.D. 203–231). Yet the most graphic sketch of Origen the teacher has for background not Alexandria, but Cæsarea. The Farewell Address which Gregory the Wonder-worker composed, and in all probability also delivered, on the occasion of his leaving Origen's circle there, and Origen's letter of acknowledgment, are not only precious remnants of the once abundant materials for the personal history of Origen, but also important documents in the history of Christian learning. Until the publication of Koetschau's handy edition,¹ they were not easily accessible, being buried in somewhat scarce and expensive collected editions (a remark which applies equally to the existing translations).² The text, too, was none of the best, and even when editors have done their utmost, Gregory's style is

¹ Des Gregorios Thaumaturgos Dankrede an Origenes, als Anhang der Brief des Origenes an Gregorios Th., herausgegeben von Dr. phil. Paul Koetschau. Leipzig, 1894 (Krüger's *Quellenschriften*, Heft 9).

² There is an English translation of the Address by the late Principal Salmond in Vol. xx. of Clark's Ante-Nicene Library, and of the Letter in the supplementary volume to the same series by Prof. Allan Menzies, p. 295.

such a quagmire, a thicket, a labyrinth, to borrow his own comparisons, that he is by no means easy to follow. For my own part, when I first encountered the Address, I was driven to write down the translation as the only way of making sense of the text. Any one who knows Lommatzsch's text will understand what I mean.¹ I afterwards came across Koetschau's edition, and it occurred to me that a new translation from his texts might be acceptable to the increasing number of those who take an interest in such studies, but who have not the time or patience to wrestle with Gregory's original.

The Letter to Gregory is an interesting example of Origen's habits of thought, and equally with the Address, forms perhaps the best introduction to the study of Origen's writings.

¹ *Origenis Opera*, xxv., p. 339.

GREGORY THAUMATURGUS

INTRODUCTION

I

S. GREGORY the Wonder-worker, whose original name was Theodorus, was of a heathen family belonging to Pontus. He and his brother Athenodorus were drawn by a series of events which he details below (c.v.) into the circle which had newly gathered round Origen at Cæsarea, and eventually returned home to become the founders of the Church of their native land.¹ Having been ordained the first bishop of Pontus, Gregory applied himself to the evangelisation of the province with such devotion that, as has been said, when he began he found only seventeen Christians; when death ended his life-work there remained only seventeen heathen. The date of his birth is nowhere stated, but it may be calculated as not later than 212 A.D. (cf. Koetschau, p. xv.). According to Suidas, he died in the reign of Aurelian (270–275).

The legends which speedily gathered round the first bishop of Pontus, and procured for him the title

¹ Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 30. 'Ὡς ἔτι νέους ἄμφω ἐπισκοπῆς τῶν κατὰ Πόντον ἐκκλησιῶν ἀξιωθῆναι.

of Thaumaturgos or Wonder-worker, together with some rather confused scraps of biography, were collected by S. Gregory of Nyssa, from oral tradition, especially that of his grandmother Macrina, and were woven into a life designed more for edification than for historical study. The history of Gregory need not, however, concern us here, except so far as it is connected with the great Christian teacher, who inspired him with the desire for sacred knowledge, and influenced him so profoundly in the choice of a profession.

Origen is remarkable among the Christian philosophers of Alexandria in that he was not a convert from heathenism but the child of a Christian home. Born about 185 A.D., a son of the soil, as his name indicates,¹ he evinced great ability even as a child. His father Leonides instructed him in Scripture and in secular subjects, and sent him at an early age to the Catechetical School, of which more hereafter. His school and college days ended abruptly. In the persecution under Severus (A.D. 202), his father was martyred, and the school was broken up by the flight of Clement and other chief men in the Church. The young Origen gathered a number of pupils about him, and eventually the Bishop Demetrius formally appointed him head of the school, a post which he was to hold for close

¹ Origenes used to be regarded as an uncommon name, until the recent discoveries in Egypt showed that Origenes, Orion, and Or, all derived from the name of the Egyptian god Horus, were common among the country folk of Egypt. See for example the Oxyrynchus Papyri.

on thirty years. Only eighteen years old when instituted, he found time amid the work of teaching to continue his own studies. The requirements of controversy with Jews and heathen led him to pay special attention to Hebrew and philosophy. His Hebrew studies, remarkable for the period, produced the *Hexapla*, a great edition of the Old Testament with the Hebrew text and various Greek translations arranged in parallel columns.¹ His philosophical knowledge found expression in his writings; for, not content with the labours of lecturing and collating MSS., he composed numerous books. These were all written to the order of his patron Ambrose, who had at one time been attracted by Gnosticism, but was won over to orthodoxy by Origen. Ambrose made use of his wealth to give the poor but independent scholar the only aid he was likely to accept. He supplied him with quarters and a staff of shorthand writers and copyists. Ambrose not only provided the means; he also prescribed the subjects. For example, the tract *On Prayer* was written to clear up certain doubts which had been exercising Ambrose. The *Commentary on S. John* was composed with special reference to an earlier commentary by the Gnostic Heracleon, which Ambrose had no doubt studied in his Valentinian days. Origen's last great work, *Against Celsus*, originated

¹ The best and most recent account of the *Hexapla* and its constituent parts is in Swete's *Introduction to the O.T. in Greek*.

in the same way, Ambrose having sent him a copy of Celsus' attack on Christianity.

This industrious but peaceful life, spent between class-room and study, with occasional visits abroad, was terminated rudely. Trouble had been brewing between Origen and his superior, Bishop Demetrius. As Gregory says below, we have not the necessary knowledge to explain it and would gladly pass over it. It seems, however, to have turned on Origen's fitness for ordination, and came to a crisis when, in the course of a journey to Greece, Origen was ordained priest at Cæsarea of Palestine by the bishops there, among whom were his own warm friends Theoctistus of that city and Alexander of Jerusalem. An act so opposed to all Demetrius' intentions could not fail to excite his anger, especially as his authority over his own flock had been infringed. The reception which Origen met with on his return compelled him to retire from Alexandria. Soon after, early in 231, a synod deposed Origen from his headship of the Catechetical School and banished him from Alexandria. He made his way to his friends at Cæsarea, and after some delay resumed his usual pursuits. He found a further field for his activities. Demetrius had never allowed him to preach or expound in public, on the ground that he was a layman, and had even remonstrated with Theoctistus and Alexander when they had allowed him to preach in Palestine. Now he was installed as a regular preacher in Cæsarea. We

still have a great number of his homilies in the original or in Latin translations.

It was early in the beginning of this second period of his career that Gregory met him. A third period has its scene in Tyre. In the Decian persecution (A.D. 250) Origen was tortured in many ways and sentenced to death. He survived the rack, and the magistrate was moved to delay his execution. The death of Decius in 251 procured his release from prison; but the respite was not for long. Ambrose his patron and Alexander his life-long friend were already dead, and he joined them in 253, in the seventieth year of his age.¹

Among other inaccuracies in the above-mentioned life, Gregory of Nyssa represents the Wonder-worker as studying under Origen not at Cæsarea, but at Alexandria. The error is a striking proof of the degree in which Origen's activity as a teacher was connected with Alexandria, and is natural enough. It is equally natural, and perhaps more justifiable, to assume that Origen's teaching at Cæsarea was much the same as at Alexandria, and that to put our texts in their proper historical setting, we may revert to what little we know of his work at the latter place.

Classes for catechumens (κατηχομενεῖα) in which candidates for admission to the Church were indoctrinated, had long been customary. Such an institution existed in Alexandria, and is referred to

¹ The principal source for Origen's life is Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, v. vi.

by Eusebius as ancient even in the time of Pantaenus¹ (A.D. 180). But while the others were rarely more than mere preparatory classes, the Catechetical School at Alexandria was a real *studium generale*, the forerunner of the universities of Christian Europe.² As elsewhere, this was the result of the Church adapting herself to, or being moulded by, local conditions. The philosophical atmosphere of Alexandria, which had inspired Philo the Jew, forced the Church there to give a wider range to her scheme of instruction, and inspired the tradition which was developed by Clement and Origen.

Alexandria, famous for the magnitude of its commerce and for the varied crowd of all nationalities which swelled its already vast native population, was equally famous for its learning. This was concentrated in the Museum, founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus, who gave it quarters in the Broucheion or official part of the city, under the very shadow of his palace. At first it resembled a modern academy rather than a teaching institution.³ Its equipment included spacious lecture-halls and ambulatories, and a dining-hall, which was so pro-

¹ *H. E.* v. 10.

² It was called ἡ τῶν πιστῶν διατριβή, *H. E.* v. 10; τὸ διδασκαλεῖον τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων, *ibid.*; δ. τῆς κατηχήσεως—ἡ τοῦ κατηχεῖν διατριβή, vi. 3. A full list is given by Redepenning, *Origenes*, I. p. 57 n.

³ Holm, *Hist. Greece*, IV., 307 E.T., describes the original foundation as one "which had something of the *Institut de France*, and something of the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge."

nounced a feature that "to eat one's dinner" was as well understood there as at the Inns of Court,¹ botanical gardens, and zoological collections. Under Roman rule it continued to enjoy the Imperial patronage. Contemporaneously with the increase of learned institutions throughout the empire early in the Christian era, the Museum became somewhat more of a place of instruction. Part of its library of 700,000 rolls had been burned by Julius Cæsar. That section which was housed in the Sarapeum had escaped. The loss was partly made up by Claudius, who founded the Claudianum, in which his historical compositions were to be recited annually; while Hadrian not only transferred the rich collection of Pergamus to Alexandria, but also increased the number of chairs there. The University, for so we may now call it, was a close reflection of the intellectual habits of the time, in that it had chairs of the four chief schools of philosophy.² It was famous as a medical school. To say of a physician that he came from Egypt was in itself a sufficient recommendation.³ and greatest of all was the fame of its grammarians and literary critics.⁴

¹ The Alexandrians did not put it quite so politely—οἱ ἐν τῇ Μουσείῳ σιτοῦμενοι, Neocorus, p. 2773; Βόσκονται, Athenæus, I. xli.

² Athenæus, xiii. p. 610; [Lucian,] *Eunuch*. The latter says nothing about there being *two* professors of each of the four chief sects, as Bigg (*Christian Platonists*, p. 120 n.) states, referring to Heinichen on Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 19.

³ Amm. Marcell., xx. 16.

⁴ A most lively account of the learned society of Alexandria is given in an article on "Alexandria and the Alexandrians" in the *Quarterly Review*, Vol. LXVI. p. 64.

In contrast to the Museum, with its extensive quarters and Imperial subsidies, the Christian School of Sacred Studies was humble in the extreme. Yet it was a worthy rival in its services to learning, and has even cast an undeserved lustre on its more opulent neighbour.¹ When or how it originated is not distinctly recorded, and the statements usually made concerning its history and organisation are more distinguished by surmise than by fact. The mention of Athenagoras, said to be its first head, rests on the authority of Philip of Sida, one of the last pupils of the school. Eusebius dismisses the period before the headship of Pantaenus as an indefinite antiquity (*H. E.* v. 10). The latter's accession in 180 is the first exact date which can be given, and marks the beginning of the most important stage in the history of the School.

Pantaenus, Clement, and Origen gave a character to Alexandrian sacred studies, which their successors might aspire to but never surpassed. After Heraclas and Dionysius the Great, both pupils of Origen, the school gradually declined, and finally came to an end in the beginning of the fifth century. Its rival, the Museum, had perished long before. Early in Origen's headship, it had been suppressed by the Emperor Caracalla (A.D. 216). Athenagoras, Pantaenus, and Clement had this in common that they were converts

¹ For example, the importance of the Alexandrian theology induced the application of the erroneous title "the Alexandrian School" to the Neoplatonists. See Whittaker, *The Neo-Platonists* (Cambridge, 1901), p. 27.

from heathenism, and brought a rich philosophical equipment to the service of Christian theology. They are also alike in the somewhat fitful appearances which they make on the stage of history. About 190, an access of missionary zeal hurried Pantaenus to the East, even to the Indians (that is the Homerites of Arabia), where he is said to have found a Hebrew version of S. Matthew. After many triumphs he returned and finished his career at Alexandria.¹ The work of the school was carried on by his convert and pupil Clement of Alexandria, who records his memory in warm terms.² He in turn disappears during the persecution of Septimus Severus, and our last glimpse of him is wandering about the churches of Syria.³ When we remember how Origen was dismissed at a later time, we are tempted to suspect that Bishop Demetrius made no great effort to recall Clement after the stress of persecution was over.

When we come to Origen's assumption of the headship of the school we are as far as ever from attaining much light on its organisation. So far from this, we find everything utterly disorganised. By great good fortune Eusebius has committed to the pages of his *Church History* a vivid sketch of Origen's student days, based on the reminiscences,

¹ *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, s. v. Pantaenus; Redepenning, I. 66; Euseb. *H. E.* v. 10. According to Jerome, *Cat.* 38, he lived until 211.

² *H. E.* v. 11; vi. 6; Clem. *Strom.* i. 322, 323; Redepenning, I. 70, 71.

³ Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 11 fin.

oral and written, of Origen and his friends, which has escaped the fate of his much desiderated Life of the master.¹ Clement and the heads of the Church had fled. Every day saw some of the faithful cast into prison, put on trial, or led forth to martyrdom. Origen's own father, Leonides, was among the number. The young man—he was seventeen years old—being prevented from sharing his father's fate, encouraged him to stand firm and let no care for his family shake his resolution, while he himself did his best to draw the wrath of the persecutors upon his head. Reduced to poverty by the confiscation of his martyred father's property, and forced to support himself by teaching literature, he soon found his true vocation in teaching the faith. When the persecution revived under the new governor, Aquila, he had become a marked man. Not a few of the new martyrs owed their conversion to him. He never attempted to hide his intimacy with them. In prison, in court, at the place of execution he was with them openly, and had many hairbreadth escapes from the mob. Time and again he escaped providentially. Soldiers were set to observe where his catechumens resorted. The whole city was not enough to contain him. He was forced to change his residence, or his hiding place, time after time. But in spite of all drawbacks and his furtive life, the number of his catechumens increased. Bishop Demetrius confirmed him at the age of eighteen as head of the School (A.D. 203),

¹ *H. E.* vi. 1-5 ; his sources c. 2 init.

whereupon he abandoned the teaching of literature as unprofitable and inconsistent with sacred learning, and the library of profane authors, which he had accumulated or transcribed in the course of his studies, he disposed of for a small pension, that he might be independent of the gifts of others.

Judging from the above, there was nothing in the shape of endowment or regular provision for the payment of the teachers: they depended on the honoraria offered by their pupils. It would seem too that there was no room or place appropriated to their use. Clement writes as if the Church at Alexandria had a regular church building,¹ and owned property; but in those days of persecution it must have assembled where and when it could. It would have been imprudent in the extreme to have identified itself with any fixed place, a consideration which applies with greater force to intending converts, against whom the edict of Severus was specially directed, or to one who, like Origen, had excited the animosity of the heathen by his proselytising zeal. Eusebius' statement that Origen's self-mutilation was prompted by the desire to prevent even the possibility of scandal also points to the conclusion that the Catechetical School in those days had no local habitation, and met in extreme privacy.²

To the scanty information regarding the arrangements and working of the Catechetical School it

¹ *Paed.* ii. 10, 96; see Bigg, p. 37.

² Compare the plea of Bagoas in [Lucian] *Eun.* med.

may be added that there were usually two or more catechists.¹ Eusebius informs us that, finding the work of the School too heavy, Origen took for his colleague Heraclas, who along with his martyred brother had been one of his earliest converts.² To him he entrusted the beginners, while he himself took charge of the studies of the more advanced. Such a division arose naturally from the requirements of different classes of pupils. Some had only to be induced to the ordinary belief (προτραπήναι εἰς τὸ πιστεύειν), while others, such as Gregory, who had larger capability, were appealed to by means of demonstration and by question and answer.³ Clement's *Cohortatio* and *Pædagogus* present yet another form of appeal to those who were heathen, while we are surely justified in assuming that the *De Principiis* gives a compendium of Origen's more advanced teaching in theology. The fact of its ending with the subject of interpretation (book iv.) is in striking agreement with Gregory's statement that Origen's final admonition to his pupils was to depend upon no human authority, be he ever so wise, but upon God and His apostles and prophets. Redepenning's assertion that Origen did not lecture, but made use of question and answer, finds no support in Gregory's reminiscence, but the reverse.⁴

¹ Redepenning, I. 67 n. 2.

² *H. E.* vi. cc. 3, 15.

³ *Con. Celsum*, vi. 637; Euseb., *H. E.* vi. 18.

⁴ Redepenning, I. 69; cf. II. 11; *infra*, c. vi.

II

In this earlier part of his account, from which we have been drawing, Eusebius represents Origen as full of missionary zeal, entirely devoted to religious teaching, and deliberately rejecting profane learning. But this is only one side of his genius. The Origen whom Eusebius goes on to describe is more like the Origen who meets us in Gregory's Address and in his own writings.

He never seems to have taken much interest in literature for its own sake. Gregory characterises him and his friends as devoting their whole attention to the matter of their discourses, and treating the form as a secondary consideration.¹ This exactly describes Origen's style. It is formless, yet not without a certain character. His usual practice was not to write, but to dictate, a fact which accounts for many peculiarities of his style, its repetitions, its abrupt transitions, its equally abrupt resumptions, its additions, which a writer would have inserted in their proper place, but with him are simply tacked on at the end of a paragraph, or anywhere. Works such as the tracts *On Prayer* and *On Martyrdom*, which he probably wrote with his own hand,² are more compact and pointed, but the great majority of his writings are such as we have described. It sounds like a

¹ *Infra*, c. i. In c. vii., he terms literary criticism "that trifling and unnecessary study." Clement, too, in spite of his literary acquirements, despised style. *Strom.* i. 10, 48 ; ii. 1, 3. Cf. Bigg, p. 47 n.

² Cf. Bigg, pp. 121, 130.

paradox to say that Origen would not have written so much (6000 volumes, it is said) if he had written less, but that is exactly the case. Had he been less overwhelmed with occupations,¹ had he commanded leisure to revise what he wrote, he almost certainly would have pruned out much of his "boundless verbosity," and given his writings that finish and connection which they too often lack.

But though he might part company with the scholars of the Museum and the rhetoricians and stylists of the day, Origen valued the profane authors for their matter,² and was at one with his heathen contemporaries in his interest in science and philosophy. He could no more avoid these subjects than can a present-day teacher of theology, and Gregory lays special stress on his attention to them. Just as in our own day, there was then a spacious common ground on which the theologian and the philosopher could meet. What Augustine somewhere observes about the approximation of philosophers and Christians was already exemplified in Origen and his con-

¹ In the *Letter concerning Ambrose* he complains: "We scarcely have time for meals amid our discussions, nor when we have supped, for a walk, or rest to our bodies. Even then we have to discuss points of grammar and check MSS. We cannot even give our frames the benefit of a full night's sleep, for we pursue our grammatical discussions until far into the evening. I say nothing about the time from the dawn till the ninth or tenth hour: for all serious students devote those hours to the study and reading of the divine oracles." Lommatzsch, xvii. 5; Delarue, iv. app. 55.

² Address, c. xiii. below, p. 75.

temporaries. If Pantaenus and Clement came from the Schools to the Church, Ammonius is said to have forsaken the Church for philosophy. Heraclas, Origen's convert and successor, wore the philosopher's cloak. Eusebius quotes Porphyry's description of Origen as a renegade philosopher who transferred his energies to Christianity, and became a Christian outwardly, but secretly continued to commune with Plato and the later philosophers.¹ Some have conjectured that this refers to another Origen ; but the supposition can hardly be maintained in the face of Eusebius' comments. Even if Porphyry has confused our Origen with some heathen namesake, the mere possibility of such a confusion is enough to indicate that the outward difference between the philosophers of the Church and of the Museum was often very small. Besides, Pamphilus, Eusebius' master, had been one of Origen's circle, and was devoted to his memory, so that any information which Eusebius offers is not to be rejected except on better grounds than we have in this case. Nor does he offer Porphyry's testimony without discrimination. He alleges it as evidence at once of Origen's acquaintance with philosophy, and of the obloquy which he thereby incurred, and he goes on to quote a letter of Origen's, written not in his Alexandrian days, but after his colleague Heraclas had become bishop in succession to Demetrius, in which he justifies his attention to philosophy by

¹ *H. E.* vi. 19.

its utility in encounters with heretics and heathen, and further defends it by the example of his predecessor Pantaenus and the great services which he had rendered to the faith, thanks to his philosophical equipment.

In opposition to those who held that mere faith and the bald meaning of Scripture were everything, Origen regarded philosophy as a legitimate aid to theology. Gregory describes his philosophical teaching as culminating in the most important of all subjects, the right knowledge of the Supreme Cause, a view which is repeated by Origen himself in the opening sentences of his Letter, where he urges Gregory to make philosophy, which the Greeks regard as the end of all studies, itself the preparatory study to theology. In another sentence Gregory recalls Origen's saying that there can be no religion, properly speaking, without philosophy.¹ In the passage of his letter just mentioned, Origen had said that Gregory's abilities were calculated to make him a lawyer, or a master in one of the philosophical sects considered reputable. This same phrase had once before been used by Origen in a connection strikingly similar. In his Commentary on S. John, which we have good reason to believe was often discussed—the later books at least—with his hearers at Cæsarea,² he enumerates various degrees of knowledge of God. In the first rank are those who participate in the Logos that was in the beginning; then

¹ Address, c. vi., p. 59.

² Koetschau, p. xiii.

those who are commonly reckoned believers, who know nothing save Jesus Christ and Him crucified, while "a third class have attached themselves to arguments which have some tincture of the Logos, in the belief that they transcend all argument. Perchance these are they who follow the more reputable and seemly philosophical sects among the Greeks."¹ The view which is here taken of the function of philosophy is repeated on almost every page of Origen's writings, and is sufficiently familiar to require no further evidence. M. Denis has collected many similar passages, and, borrowing the language of the Letter to Gregory, remarks that the spoils of Egypt were the ornament, not the foundation of his genius,² and that in this he offers a marked contrast to his predecessor Clement, who, born and brought up in heathenism, remained always dominated by philosophy. Origen, on the contrary, had been reared in the bosom of the Church, and regarded things from quite another standpoint. In this he marks a distinct advance in the history of theology as an independent study.

"A mere glance (continues M. Denis) at their writings is enough to show the difference of their training and mode of thought. Clement's writings are crammed with quotations from profane authors, poets as well as philosophers; he seems rejoiced to find some trace of his new faith in the recollections of his former studies. No less confused than those of his predecessor, Origen's

¹ *In Joannem*, ii. 3, p. 53. Καὶ τρίτοι λόγοις μετέχουσιν τι τοῦ λόγου ὡς πάντα ὑπερέχουσιν λόγον προσεσχέκασιν.

² *De la Philosophie d'Origène*, Paris, 1884, p. 22.

writings, while filled to satiety with Biblical quotations, never present any profane citations, except in his work against Celsus, and even there they are comparatively rare. One might say that he was afraid lest the divine word should be sullied by contact with human wisdom. If he occasionally recalls some philosophical doctrine, it is in general terms and anonymously ; the names of Plato, of Aristotle, of Zeno, would seem to him as out of place beside those of Moses and the prophets, of Jesus and the apostles, as idols in a church" (p. 22).

But if Origen never names the philosophers, their influence is always present. Even M. Denis admits that he inherited the Greek activity and freedom of thought which acknowledged no limits to discussion. And his surroundings conspired to confirm the bent of his mind. "His sceptical intelligence pries unbidden into every defect, and anticipates the hostile thrust" (Bigg). Reading his works we are amazed at the audacity of his questionings, and yet struck with the sanity of his decisions. For Origen very seldom dogmatizes. More often he inquires or suggests, or states possibilities, but defers judgment. Not a little injustice has been done him by the failure, or refusal, to distinguish between the positive and the tentative elements in his utterances, and by the inability of many of his critics to appreciate the poetical strain in his nature.¹

¹ Cf. Bigg, 193 n : "The caution given by Origen at the commencement of this chapter [*De Principiis*, i. 6] applies to all his speculations outside the letter of the Creed, and must never be forgotten : 'Nunc autem disputandi magis quam

The true contrast is not between Clement and Origen, whose differences, after all, are more of degree than of principle, but between Origen, and on the one hand the Gnostics and on the other the Orthodoxasts or Narrow-Church party, the reputed Christians, the mere believers, or however they may be named.¹ From these Origen was more widely separated than from the philosophers. He brought to the discussion of theology not only the Greek spirit of unfettered inquiry, but many of the views which are characteristic of the Neo-Platonist philosophy, which was even then being formulated. While Gregory was studying at Cæsarea, Plotinus was frequenting the lectures of Ammonius Saccas at Alexandria. Reading an account of the system of Plotinus, one is struck with the coincidences between it and many portions of Origen's writings, which from the purely theological standpoint are inexplicable.

The tendencies of the various parties Origen sought to reconcile in a theology which should at once be based on authority and the Scripture, and yet go beyond the narrow limits of the general creed.² The following pages give some indication of the gifts which he brought to bear on this task, not only great speculative powers and wide erudi-

definiendi, prout possumus, exercemur' Innumerable passages of the same kind might be cited, but these will suffice. The reader will understand that Origen never dogmatizes. This point is insisted on by Pamphilus in the *Apologia*."

¹ *Contra Celsum*, iii. 44-78.

² See his preface to *De Principiis*.

tion, but a warm piety and a passionate desire after God. The founder of speculative theology, he is also the founder of mysticism, the father of the English Latitudinarians, and "also the spiritual ancestor of Bernard, the Victorines, and the author of the *De Imitatione*, of Tauler and Molinos, of Madame de Guyon,"¹ two tendencies which, however diverse, have this in common, that they excite the suspicion, if not the express censure, of what has been termed official Christianity.

As to Origen's acquaintance with science, M. Denis is somewhat scornful. His natural history, he says, was not based on Aristotle, but on compilations of wonders such as that of Ælian (p. 14). In the same way he valued mathematics for its usefulness in a numerical Kabbala,² while the speculations on the heavenly bodies which we find, for instance, in the *De Principiis* warn us against putting a modern construction on Gregory's enthusiastic statements about his teaching of science (c. viii.). Yet even here Origen represents the orthodox philosophical as against the Gnostic opinion of his day.³ And farther, we must bear in mind that Origen was not a professed scientist, but a preacher, and a person of considerable imaginative power. To him science was merely an aid, not an end—an aid to an aid, we might almost

¹ Bigg, p. 188.

² Cf. the opening paragraph of the Letter to Gregory, where he expressly connects geometry and astronomy with the interpretation of Scripture.

³ See Whittaker, *The Neo-Platonists*, Cambridge, p. 24.

say, for the interpretation of Scripture, which it aided, he in turn regarded as merely a stage on the way to perfect knowledge. And if his science is that of the Bestiary rather than of Aristotle, we may still claim him as the "spiritual ancestor" of those who to this day retail an astonishing amount of science, falsely so-called, from their pulpits, without inheriting any of his more commendable features.

Origen's intellectual attitude may be summed up in the saying of the Schools that theology is *scientia scientiarum*.¹ As against the narrow party, he affirmed that it is a science, that faith is a stepping-stone to knowledge, or, to use one of his startling expressions, "happy are they who no longer need the Son as Physician, nor Shepherd, nor Redemption, but as Wisdom and Word and Righteousness."² Against the Gnostics he maintained the authority of the ecclesiastical tradition; and against the philosophers he upheld the claim of Christianity and Revelation.

III

As to the events which severed Origen's connection with Alexandria, we may adopt Gregory's attitude: "I cannot pronounce on the

¹ In one passage he refers to the knowledge of God (in Revelation) as ἡ τέχνη τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστήμη τῶν ἐπιστημῶν. *In Joannem*, xiii. 46, p. 259 R.

² *In Joannem*, i. 22 fin.

merits of the case, and gladly dismiss it" (c. v.). By 231, he had taken up his abode in Cæsarea.¹ Here he was not long in gathering a circle of friends about him, and in resuming his manifold avocations.

While Origen had been passing through the last stages of his Egyptian oppression, Gregory had embraced the study of law, and had made up his mind to go to the well-known school of law at Berytus. The accident of his sister's going to join her husband at Cæsarea brought him there, where he found Origen not long arrived—as if come to meet him (c. v.). The same spell which Pantaenus had formerly cast over Clement, Origen cast over Theodore and his brother. The day of their meeting with him was like the birthday of a new life. They were held spell-bound by his disquisitions on the true aims of life. In terms which echo the opening words of the *De Principiis*, Origen declared that they only lived worthy of reasonable beings who studied to live rightly, and endeavoured to understand the true objects of human effort. He poured contempt on those who sought after worldly fame and comfort, and embraced the professions which led thereto, singling out—says Gregory—the very things which were tempting him. Gregory dwells specially on the charm of Origen's manner, which, we may be sure, aided him in presenting the truth to men of all shades of opinion, and in allaying controversies

¹ See below, p. 35.

like those in Arabia and Bostra.¹ His gentle compelling power, his benevolence, his learning, which to the enthusiastic disciple seemed due to a direct and peculiar inspiration of God, won upon Gregory, and made him forget everything else: affairs, studies, even his beloved law, home, his friends there equally with those beside him at Cæsarea. The passion for philosophy and its teacher took possession of him, and he experienced the truth of the saying, "The soul of Jonathan was knit to the soul of David" (c. vi.).

Origen pruned the excrescences and restrained the impetuosity of his pupils. He laid little stress on rhetoric and mere literary refinement; but he insisted in Socratic fashion on exactness of definition and clear apprehension of an argument. He had the Socratic art of tripping up an adversary. Yet he employed it not for the sake of gaining an easy victory over his pupils, but for their benefit. His aim was to encourage exactness of thought and expression, for—he would say—it was to the interest of every man, whatever his race or condition, not to be deceived in his ordinary converse on the business of life (c. vii.).

From this he led them on to the consideration of the outer world, raising them from an unreasoning wonder and astonishment to a reasoned admiration of the world in its component parts and in its organisation. He laid special stress on geometry and astronomy, presenting the former as the sure

¹ Eus., *H. E.* vi.

and unquestionable foundation of all things, and forming with the other a ladder reaching up to the heavens (c. viii.).

His teaching of ethics was marked by its practical nature. In contrast to many of his contemporaries, he insisted on the importance of practice and the uselessness of mere theorising about the impulses and affections of the soul. His example was as instructive as his precept, and the last word of his instruction was that piety is the beginning of all virtues (c. ix.).

In metaphysics, he discussed all arguments and all theories, and encouraged his pupils to study all philosophers, except those who were atheist (the Epicureans), for he led them by degrees to theology, the chief of all sciences. In their investigations, and how daring and wide they were we can gather from his writings, he acted as their guide: but he used to insist that they should pin their faith to no man, however wise, but depend on God and His prophets only. The need for this and for an open and teachable mind was emphasised, Gregory tells us, by the controversies and prejudices of the philosophers (c. x.-xiv.).

No account of Origen's methods would be complete without some reference to the allegorical interpretation of Scripture, of which the main body of his Letter is a characteristic example. Reference may be made in passing to the fourth book of the *De Principiis*, where he summarises his method. As a rule, he recognised three senses in Scripture:

the literal sense, or body, the moral sense, and the spiritual. There are some passages, he says, which obviously have no literal or historical meaning, and others which are a manifest offence to our moral sensibilities. These difficulties are intentional, meant to shock us and stimulate us to inquire after the higher or spiritual meaning, which is never absent from any scripture. In his Letter he illustrates the uses of philosophy and secular learning from the use which the Israelites made of the spoils of Egypt, transforming them into furniture for the true worship of God. But worldly learning may be perverted to heretical and deceptive purposes, even as Hadad the Edomite fled from the genuine wisdom of Solomon into Egypt, and came back to rend Israel and set up the golden heifer in Bethel, the house of God, that is, in the Scripture itself. Others set up their vain imaginings in Dan on the uttermost borders of the Holy Land, that is to say, they go as near as they dare to heathenism.

IV

Allusion has already been made to the *Style* of the Address. It is difficult from its prolixity and over-elaborateness. Koetschau suggests that, Gregory's study of Latin had taught him the trick of writing long periods. This is probable enough, but we encounter not only periods, but what can only be described as accumulations of words and phrases (the passages, for instance,

about the soil and the plants in c. vii., and the snares and pitfalls of philosophy in xiv.), which might be piled up indefinitely without disarranging their structure to any great extent. His parentheses and anacoloutha are often puzzling. Throughout there is the suspicion that, unlike his master, he was thinking more of the sound than the sense. The foot-notes give some idea of the way in which he has fulfilled his avowed intention of appropriating any fair-sounding word or phrase which came his way. Origen, while listening to this youthful production, must have felt much as Socrates when he heard Phædrus read that wonderful composition of Lysias. As Bishop of Neo-Cæsarea, Gregory learned to write a remarkably clear and business-like style.

In translating the Address, I have kept as closely as possible to the form in which the author cast it. Here and there I have broken up long sentences and altered the order of clauses for the sake of clearness, but on the whole the translation is as literal as possible. In the notes I have indicated a few parallel passages, for many of which I am indebted to Koetschau's notes and indexes. I have suggested several additional scripture references which he, possibly with good reason, has not mentioned.

As to the *Title*, the Address is usually referred to as the *Panegyric*, a designation which has no MS. authority, and is apparently due to Vossius, the editor of the Mayence edition of 1604, to whom it

may have been suggested by Jerome (πανηγυρικὸν εὐχαριστίας, *De vir. ill.* 65). The MSS. term it προσφωνητικὸς (*sc.* λόγος). Gregory himself calls it λόγος χαριστήριος (c. iii. *m.*; iv. *m.*), following whom Koetschau has entitled it Dankrede in his edition. In the MS. it is usually found along with *Contra Celsum*, and was regarded as a *testimonium* to Origen from the more orthodox Gregory. In the same sense Pamphilus affixed it to his *Apologia*. Socrates (*H. E.* iv. 27) accordingly calls it συστατικὸς λόγος.

The Address is drawn up in due *Form* with proemium, main body, and conclusion as follows—

“Gregory professes his incompetence for the task, owing to his inexperience in composition, due to his eight years’ want of practice and his legal studies in another language, but he dare not refuse it lest he seem guilty of ingratitude” (i.–iii. *m.*).

He begins his speech by thanking God through Christ, and his guardian angel, and introduces a sketch of his early years and the events by which his angel led him and committed him to the care of Origen (iii. *m.*–vi.). He details Origen’s methods of instruction, as summarised in the previous pages (vii.–xv.). A lamentation over his departure from the paradise of Origen’s circle to the far country of secular life (xvi.–xvii.) leads to the

Conclusion, in which he begs Origen’s blessing and remembrances (xviii.–xix.).

The *date of the Address* is somewhat difficult to

determine. It contains two notes of time. One is in c. i., where Gregory explains his incompetence for his self-imposed task by saying that for eight years he has composed no speech and has heard none save from these admirable men who have embraced the true philosophy, who, Dräseke notwithstanding, are members of Origen's circle. The other passage is in c. v., where, referring to the beginning of their acquaintance, he says that Origen was newly arrived in Cæsarea, "as if to meet us." But before founding on these passages, we have to take into consideration (a) the statement of Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 30, that Theodore and his brother studied five full years with Origen, and (b) the difficulty of determining the exact date of Origen's departure from Alexandria and his arrival at Cæsarea. Meanwhile it may be observed that Eusebius, in c. 29, before the passage just cited, mentions the accession of Gordian (June 238), which would indicate that the Address was not delivered earlier than that date, and that Gregory's meeting with Origen was not earlier than the middle of 233.

Koetschau has made the most recent examination of the question, and has given an excellent summary of the evidence, which, however, scarcely bears out his conclusions. He accepts Eusebius' statement that Gregory was five years with Origen, and would make Gregory's eight years include the three years or so during which his literary studies gave place to the study of Latin and law previous to his departure for Berytus (c. v.). It is true that

in c. iii., a paragraph further on, Gregory does refer to his legal studies and his difficulties with Latin as a further disability, but even making every allowance for the eccentricities of Gregory's style, it is surely a somewhat forced interpretation to carry the force of *ὀκταετής* over a page or so of very confused Greek. Is it not possible that Gregory means by *ὀκταετής* simply that he was eight years with Origen, and that Eusebius' *πέντε* is due to writing E' for H'? Dräseke suggests that it may be an inference from the fact that in 235 the persecution of Maximin broke out (p. 105).

There remains the further question of Origen's arrival at Cæsarea.

According to Eusebius, *Chronica* (cod. Amandinus), it occurred in A. Abr. 2248 = 230 A.D., according to Jerome in 2249 = 231 A.D., and according to the Armenian version in 2252 = 234. In his *Church History*, Eusebius gives another date, and that one which can be checked. He says in vi. 26 that soon after Origen's final departure from Alexandria, Demetrius died in the tenth year of the reign of Alexander Severus, *i. e.* 231, and in the forty-third of his bishopric, which accordingly began in 188. In favour of this, and against the other reading *δωδεκα* in vi. 26, we have the statement, in v. 22, that Demetrius took in hand the office of bishop in the tenth year of Commodus = 188 or 189.

The date of Origen's great opponent may therefore be taken as definitely fixed. By 231 Origen had left Alexandria for ever. We cannot imagine

that he had any inducement to linger on the road between there and Cæsarea, certainly not to spend a year or two, as Koetschau asserts (p. xiv.). Rather he went out in haste, as the Israelites had gone up out of Egypt (*In Joann.* vi. init.), and as Eusebius' language seems to imply, was already in Cæsarea when Demetrius died in the course of the year. By the end of it, or early in 232, Gregory and Athenodorus must have halted at Cæsarea, while the charm of novelty still surrounded Origen's arrival. If we take his own statement that he spent eight years attending Origen's lectures, and not necessarily therefore neglecting his legal studies (his brother-in-law would see to that), then his return to Pontus and the delivery of the Address would fall as nearly as possible in the end of 239, or at latest early in 240, previous to Origen's departure for Athens.

The *date of Origen's Letter* is more difficult to determine, and this question is further complicated with the question of its purpose. There are two theories. According to the general view, in which Koetschau follows Ryssell and Redepenning, the Letter is an acknowledgment of the Address, written from Nicomedia, on the way to Greece, in 240.

The other view places the Letter earlier, and regards it as a warning against the seductions of philosophy to which Gregory was exposed while he was seeking asylum in Egypt during the persecution of Maximin, 235-237. This view has been expounded by Dräseke, as the result of a careful

examination of the Letter and Address.¹ His main contentions are as follow—

(a) The Letter contemplates two courses as open to Gregory: Law or Philosophy. But in the Address (c. xiv.), Gregory's mind is made up, and he looks forward not too enthusiastically to the sordid and unquiet atmosphere of the law courts of his native place.

(b) Origen's advice to cultivate philosophy as ancillary to the earnest and prayerful study of theology and the Scriptures seems superfluous if offered subsequently to the Address (see especially cc. xii.—xv.) which recounts Gregory's diligence in precisely such a course of study, beginning with philosophy and culminating in theology and scriptural exegesis.

(c) So far as we know, Gregory had practically completed his studies when he returned to Neo-Cæsarea; while the Letter finds him undecided, and in a spirit very different from that evinced at the end of the Address.

Dräseke further suggests that we have here an explanation of Gregory of Nyssa's statement that Gregory studied under Origen at Alexandria, namely, that he did for a time study at Alexandria, during the Maximinian persecution, when Origen's circle was broken up. We may set aside Dräseke's assertions that there was no circle of

¹ *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, vii. 1881, p. 102, Dr. J. Dräseke, *Der Brief des Origenes an Gregorios von Neocæsarea*.

students about Origen at Cæsarea (119), and that the *θανμάσιοι ἄνδρες* of the Address (c. i.) can only mean Alexandrian teachers. They are no assistance, but rather the reverse, to his main argument. The questions which we have to consider are, whether Origen and his friends had to leave Cæsarea during the persecution, and whether Gregory would find Alexandria safer than Cæsarea.

Koetschau has summed up the evidence against Origen's withdrawal. Gregory does not allude to it in his Address. Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 28), though he refers to Origen's notices of the persecution, never says that he had to leave Cæsarea. The only authority for such an assertion is Palladius.¹ "The error of the otherwise utterly unreliable Palladius is to be explained as a misunderstanding or mis-statement of Eusebius' words (*H. E.* vi. 27, 28), and a combination of these passages with an earlier one" (vi. 17).²

But on the other hand, Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 28) represents the persecution as animated by Maximin's dislike to Alexander and all his friends, the Church among the rest, and her leaders in particular. As Dräseke remarks, Cæsarea and Origen would be among the first to feel the weight of Maximin's resentment. If Ambrose and Protoctetus were in uncommon danger (*περίστασις οὐχ ἡ τυχοῦσα*) we can hardly suppose that Origen, who had been in intimate relations with Alexander and Julia,

¹ *Historia Lausiaca*, Rosweyd *De Vitis Patrum*, vii. c. 147.

² Koetschau, p. xiii.

would escape notice. It should be observed that in c. 30 Eusebius returns to Origen with the words, τῷ δὲ Ὀριγένῃ ἐπὶ τῆς Καισαρείας τὰ συνήθη πράττοντι, as if to imply that after the death of Maximin he was able to resume his usual duties at Cæsarea. He uses a somewhat similar phrase at the end of vi. 19 to describe Origen's resumption of his duties at Alexandria after an absence of some duration.

Origen's own notice of the persecution, in the 22nd book on S. John, has perished. Preuschen has confounded it with a very vague allusion in the 32nd (c. 3. p. 408 R., Origines, IV., p. lxxx.). There is another passage, however, which may be connected with it, xxviii. p. 399 R., ὥσπερ δὲ διὰ τῶν τοιούτων διδάσκει ἡμᾶς ἐν διωγμοῖς καὶ ταῖς καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλαῖς ἀναχωρεῖν. . . . But this is such a commonplace among the Alexandrians, that we can scarcely venture to refer it to any particular case.

Finally, if we suppose with Dräseke that Origen's Letter was addressed to Gregory while he was in Alexandria, then we have the reason for his choice of the comparisons of the treasures of the Egyptians and the case of Hadad the Edomite. They represent Gregory's own case, sojourning for a time in Egypt, not merely in figure, but in fact, and sorely tempted by the attractions of secular life.

As to the second question, whether Gregory would be safer at Alexandria than at Cæsarea, Zonaras xii. 19, states that during the persecution Philip the Arabian was Prefect of Egypt, and no doubt he

would do little to carry out Maximin's designs. But while quite a safe refuge for Gregory, Alexandria was impossible for Origen in view of his comparatively recent expulsion in 231.

On the whole, we are inclined to agree with Dräseke in regarding the Letter as anterior to the Address, and as dating from the Maximinian persecution, 235-237.

V

Koetschau's text of the Address (V) is based upon the Vatican MS. Gr. 386, belonging to the thirteenth century, which he denotes by A. As has been indicated, *Contra Celsum* is in the same volume. According to Koetschau (Texte u. Untersuchungen VI. pt. 1), A is the parent MS. of the Venetian MSS., gr. 45 (M), and gr. 44 (V). From the latter are derived the MSS. gr. 146 in New College Library, Oxford, and Palatino-Vaticanus gr. 309, on which Höschel's edition of 1605 is based. In addition to the separate edition by Höschel already mentioned, there is one by J. A. Bengel (Stuttgart, 1722) with a selection of notes. The English translations have been named in the Preface (p. 5). Latin translations accompany the editions of Vossius (by Jacob Sirmond), Höschel (Laurent. Rhodomanus), and Bengel. There is a German translation in the Kemptener Bibliothek der Kirchenväter, Vol. 159. For the above information I am indebted to Koetschau's Introduction to his edition.

The Address is prefixed also to the Paris MS., S. Gr. 616, dated 1339 (P), which Koetschau agrees with Dean Armitage Robinson in deriving from A.

The Address was first printed by Vossius in 1604 (*S. Gregorii . . . Thaumaturgi opera om.*). Gal-land's text (*Bibliotheca Vet. Patrum*, 1778, Vols. III., XIV.) is reprinted by Migne *Patr. Gr.*, Vol. X.

It is also included in Origen's works, Delarue, Vol. IV., app.; Lommatzsch, Vol. XXV., p. 339.

GREGORY'S ADDRESS TO ORIGEN

Saint Gregory the Wonder-worker's Address to Origen, which he delivered in Cæsarea of Palestine after his many years' study with him, when he was about to depart to his fatherland.

I. A good thing is silence for men generally on many occasions, but especially at the present moment for me, who, whether I wish it or not, am muzzled and constrained to be silent. For I find myself unpractised and without skill of your fair and seemly discourses, which are spoken or composed in choice and well-weighed words and phrases in well-connected and unbroken sequence; perhaps because I have not the gifts for labouring this graceful and truly Hellenic art, or, what is more, because for eight years¹ I have not spoken or written a discourse great or small myself, nor have heard any one else writing or speaking in private, or delivering a panegyric or holding a disputation in public, except these admirable men who have embraced the true philosophy.² These are little concerned with fine diction and the seemliness of words. They put the sound in the second place, and choose to concern themselves with the facts and their particular and accurate

¹ See Introduction, p. 34.

² Cf. *ibid.*

investigation and exposition. Not, I think, that they do not desire, for indeed they desire exceedingly, to express the nobility and accuracy of their thoughts in noble and seemly speech ; but because they cannot readily embrace in one, and that only a small and human soul, both the sacred and divine "power" residing in thought, and the "word" of eloquence which resides in utterance,¹ two things the coveted desire of every man, yet so incompatible—since indeed silence is in some sort the friend and fellow-worker of thought and research, but the aptness and fluency of the word you would seek and find nowhere else than in articulate sounds and their constant practice.

And what is more, yet another study hampers my mind greatly, and the word ties my tongue if I should desire to speak ever so little in the language of the Hellenes—our marvellous laws, by which now the affairs of all men under the dominion of the Romans are directed, neither composed nor studied without labour, which in themselves are wise and accurate and copious and admirable, and in a word, most Hellenic, but are expressed and handed down in the language of the Romans, so striking and brave and wholly conformable to Imperial power, but so burdensome to me.

Yet it could not be otherwise, nor would I say that I desired it. And forasmuch as our utterances are but a sort of pictures of the affections of our souls, let us acknowledge that it is with capable

¹ 1 Cor. iv. 19, 20; cf. *In Joannem*, i. 20.

speakers as with good painters, thorough artists in their art and rich in store of colours, who are in no wise embarrassed thereby, but are enabled to execute, not mere likenesses, but pictures varied and of enhanced beauty by the very mingling of many colours.

II. But as for ourselves, like poverty-stricken artists, destitute of these various colours, either having never owned them, or perhaps having squandered them, as with charcoal or potsherds, these usual and common words and phrases,¹ let us with the words convenient to us, copying according to our ability, endeavour to give some indication of the outlines of the patterns in our soul, if not brilliantly or even tastefully, at least like a plain black and white sketch. Though if any word fair or pleasing to the tongue comes our way, we welcome it gladly, since we value it highly.

But in the third place, yet another thing hinders me and turns me aside, and restrains me much more than the others, and bids me keep silence ; and that is my subject, which at once incites me to speak, and makes me pause and hesitate. For I propose to speak of one to appearance and opinion only a man, but to those who can see, prepared even now in virtue of his greatness with the great preparation for the transition into the divine. It is not his race nor his

¹ Cf. *In Joannem*, iv. 2, where the earthen vessels of 2 Cor. iv. 17, are said to represent the commonplace diction of the Scriptures which the Greeks hold in contempt.

bodily nurture that I am proceeding to praise and then pausing and casting about in excess of misgiving; nor is it his strength or beauty. These, forsooth, are the praises of striplings, which occasion little anxiety whether worthily or unworthily spoken. For as for making a discourse in solemn form and with becoming hesitation whether too cold or too impetuous, on things not abiding or steadfast, but liable to all manner of speedy dissolution, I would not, even had the task set me been to speak on any of those things which are useless and vain, and such as I would never willingly have set myself to speak on—no, if such a task had been set me, my speech would have contained no trace of misgiving or care, lest in any expression I should seem to come short of its merits. But now I am about to recall whatever is most God-like in him, whatever in him is akin to God, whatever, though imprisoned in this appearance and mortality, is forcing its way with all welcome toil unto likeness with God.¹ I am about to touch, as I may, on things too great for me; and on some measure of the thanksgiving due

¹ "Nothing in Clement is more startling to the reader of the present day than his repeated assertion of the deification of the gnostic, not merely in the future (as here, *Strom.* vii., P. 830) but in this present life, as in P. 894. . . . See also Harnack, *Dogmengesch.*, who goes so far as to say that the idea of deification is to be found 'in all the Fathers of the ancient Church after Origen' (Vol. III. 164 n. tr.), cf. his Excursus on the use of the word *Θεός* (Vol. I. 119), and the references in the Index under the heading 'Deification.'" Hort-Mayor, *Seventh book of the Stromateis*, p. 203.

through him to God, that it was granted me to happen upon such a man, contrary to all human expectation, even my own, who never intended or expected it; and purposing to touch on such matters, I, who am so little and utterly devoid of wisdom, shrink and hesitate and fain would be silent.

To keep silence, forsooth, is obviously the safe course for me, lest under pretence of compliment, but quite as much from forwardness, I utter irreverent and vile and trivial discourse about things reverend and holy, and not merely come short of the truth, but, according to my poor inability, even take from it in the opinion of those who are convinced that the feeble word will be framed in detraction, rather than in power adequate to the facts which it would describe.

Yet, dear Head,¹ no detraction or insult can touch thy qualities, still less the divine, abiding in their place as they do, unshaken, unaffected by our little unworthy words. But how we are to escape the reproach of rashness and forwardness we know not, rushing ignorantly with little sense or preparation on matters great and perhaps too high for us. Had we presumed to indulge in these youthful indiscretions elsewhere and on other persons, even then we had been rash and venturesome enough; but at least shameless effrontery would not have been the blame of our forwardness, inasmuch as we should not have exer-

¹ A reminiscence of the opening of the *Antigone*.

cised our rashness on thee. But now we are about to fill up the measure of our folly—nay, have already filled it—in daring to break with unwashen feet (as the Word saith) on ears whereon the Word of God Himself walks and resides, not as on most men's, shod with the thick hide of enigmatical and dark sayings, but barefooted, clear and evident.¹ But we, bearing our mere human words, like so much filth and mud, dare to bring them to ears trained to listen to divine and pure voices.

Is it not enough to have erred so far? Must we not begin to be sober, and proceed no further, but stop here? I would fain do so. Yet since I have once been so rash, let me recite the cause which has hurried me so far in this enterprise, if by any means I may find pardon for this piece of forwardness.

III. To my mind unthankfulness is a dreadful thing, dreadful, yea, utterly dreadful. For to experience good and not endeavour to repay it at least by words of thanksgiving, if no other means be possible, is the mark of one witless wholly and insensible to benefits, or of one bereft of memory. For whoever felt and appreciated the benefits he received—even though the memory is not preserved to subsequent times—if he does not at the moment offer some thanks to the source of his good, he is evil and unthankful and unholy, and guilty of a sin unpardonable in great or small; if he be great and of great mind, for not having

¹ Cf. *In Joannem*, xxxii. 6; and below, cap. xv. init.

his great benefits always on his lips with every expression of thankfulness and praise ; if he be small and of little account, for not lauding and blessing with all his might his benefactor not only in great things, but in small. Those of great and proficient mental powers, as out of greater abundance and great wealth, ought to render their benefactors the greater and more zealous thanks according to their power ; while as for those who are little and in straitened circumstances, it does not become them to be negligent or indolent, nor to take their ease under pretext of being unable to offer aught worthy or perfect. But, as befits men poor yet willing, they should reckon not his whom they honour, but their own power, and offer thanks according to their ability, gracious, it may be, and agreeable to him who is honoured, and in his judgment not inferior to the great and numerous, if offered with ample zeal and whole-heartedness. So in the sacred books it is borne that a small and poor woman in comparison with the rich and able who brought of their wealth great and precious gifts—she alone, who cast in a small, yea, the smallest gift, yet her all, received the testimony that she had offered the greatest gift. For it was not, I deem, by the amount of material offered—the external—but rather by the thoughts and preferences which prompted the offering, that the Divine Word weighed its value and magnificence. So, even for us it is not becoming to desist for fear our thanks should be unequal to the benefaction ;

but on the contrary to venture and endeavour to offer, if not adequate, at least our available thanks in some sort of return, in the hope that if we fail of the perfect, our discourse may at least attain to the partial, and escape the reproach of utter thanklessness.¹ For utter silence under the specious pretext of inability to say anything worthy is in truth unprofitable. But an attempt at acknowledgment is always a mark of consideration, even though the ability of him that offers thanks be less than desert calls for. So I will not be silent, even though I am unable to speak worthily. If I only say all that I can say, I shall congratulate myself.

So let this speech of mine be one of thanksgiving. I would not choose to address the God of all, although from Him are the beginnings of all our benefits, and with Him, too, we should begin our thanksgivings, and hymns, and praises. Yet not even if I could present myself whole, not such as I am now, defiled and unclean, mixed and alloyed with utter and uncleansable evil, but my naked self, all clean, all bright, all sparkling, without any admixture of evil—not even, I say, if I could present myself all naked like some new birth, should I of myself bear any gift adequate to the praise and recompense of the Master and Cause of all, whom no one, no, not all men together, could ever worthily bless, not even though the whole

¹ St. Luke xxi. 1. Eth. Nic. viii., 6, 7 ; Hort-Mayor, p. 232.

universe, purified and become one and the same, all things rapt out of themselves, or rather coming again to Himself, should combine in one breath and one burst of harmony. What of His works even could any one comprehend excellently and completely, and, if possible, celebrate worthily? Nay, from the very nature of man's power, which he obtained from none other than Him, it is impossible to find elsewhere anything greater which he might offer in thanksgiving.

IV. But our blessings and laudations to the King and Provider of all, the unfailing source of all good, let us entrust to Him that healeth our infirmity even in this also, and alone is able to supply what is lacking, the Defender and Saviour of our souls, His First-born Word, the Creator and Pilot of all things, who Himself alone, on His own behalf, and on behalf of us all, singly and unitedly, is able to send up continuous and unceasing thanksgivings to the Father. For He is the Truth, and the Wisdom and Power of the very Father of all.¹ Moreover, being in Him and with Him, it cannot be that through forgetfulness or foolishness, or by reason of any infirmity as of one foreign to Him, He should lack power of thanks, or not lacking it—with reverence be it said—leave the Father unblessed. For He alone has power to fill up perfectly the worthiness of the praises offered through Him, whom the very Father of all, having made one with Himself, that

¹ 1 Cor. i. 24 ; S. John xiv. 10.

through Him alone, only not circumscribing Himself, He might honour and be honoured with power in all respects equal to His own—a lot which He first and only of all existences obtained, His Only-Begotten, the Word God in Him. Thus only are the thanks and worship of all other beings possible, when we bring and refer to Him alone the power of worthy thanks for all the benefits which come from the Father to us, confessing that this is the one path of piety, the complete remembrance through Him of the Cause of all. Wherefore, then, since the Providence which extends unto all, careth for us both in the greatest and in the least, and preventeth us thus far, be that acknowledged the perfect and worthy Word for thanksgiving and praises which is most perfect and quick and the living Word of the First Intelligence Himself.

Let this our Address then be one of thanksgiving, if of men, to this holy man here above all : or if I wished to speak in loftier strain of those who appear not, but are nearer the divine, and have a care of men, let it be to him who by some great dispensation obtained the lot of governing me from childhood and tending me and caring for me, the holy angel of God “who nourished me from my youth up” saith that man dear to God. But he means his own angel. For he, being great, would in due proportion have some one of the greatest, yea, perchance the very Angel of Mighty Counsel, the common Saviour of all ; by reason of

his perfection having had Him alone allotted as his guardian.¹ I do not know clearly : he only knows and blesses his angel, a good one, whosoever he be. And we, in addition to the common Governor of all men, bless him who is the tutor of our own infancy, who in all things has been our all-good fosterer and guardian (not in the way that appeared good to myself or any of my kindred and friends, for we were blind and saw nothing in front of us so as to be able to decide what was necessary, but as appeared good to Him who foresaw all things that were for the benefit of our soul), who has of old, and now still nurtures me, chastens me, and leads me by the hand, and, moreover, ordered all things so as to bring me in contact with many, but pre-eminently with this man—this is the chiefest thing of all. I was not bound to him by any human kinship or blood, nor otherwise related to him, nor one of his neighbours, nor even of the same race, the usual occasions of friendship and acquaintance. But, in a word, unknown, alien, estranged as we were, separated from each other so far as intervening mountains and rivers could divide us, us He brought together by His truly divine and wise providence and wrought this saving companionship for me, having purposed it aforetime, I think, from my very birth and infancy. Yet how He did this would be a long tale to tell,

¹ Gen. xlviii. 15 : Isai. x. 6. The belief in guardian angels was held not only in the Church, but among the Gnostics (Neander, *Ch. Hist.* ii. 57, 60) and the Stoics (Lightfoot, *Philippians*, 279 n). Cf. Plato, *Rep.* x. 620 E.

not only if I insisted on every detail, and made no attempt to omit anything, but even if I should choose to pass over many things and mention the principal only.

V. Our earliest nurture from our birth was under our parents, and our father's ways were those erroneous customs from which no one, methinks, hoped that we should be delivered; nor had I any hope, young and undiscerning and under a heathen father. Then came the loss of my father, and my orphanage, which was not improbably the beginning of my knowledge of the truth. For then was I first put to the saving and true word, I know not how, by force rather than of my own will. For what judgment had I at fourteen years? Yet from that time forth the sacred word began straightway to dwell in me; in such wise that when the common reason of man had just developed, then only it began to dwell within me.¹ Though I did not at first, yet now when I consider, I reckon it no small sign of the sacred and wondrous providence which was exercised over me that this succession of events was so distributed over my years, namely that all previous to that age, as being the works of error, should be consigned to infancy and unreason, lest the sacred word should be consigned in vain to a soul not yet reasonable; but when it became reasonable that it should not be bare, although of the divine and pure word, at least of the fear according to that word, that

¹ The Greek for both *word* and *reason* is *logos*.

so divine and human reason should work together in my soul, the one aiding by means of the power unspeakable by me, but familiar to it, and the other being aided. This consideration fills me at once with rejoicing and with fear. I rejoice in my advancement; I fear lest, having been reckoned worthy of such things, I yet fail of the end. But I see that somehow, unknown to me, my discourse has lingered at this stage in my desire to declare in due order my divine direction to this man. Nevertheless, let me hasten on and deal concisely with what follows, not professing to render the due praise to Him who ordered all things so, nor thanks nor reverence—let us not commit the vulgarity of naming these things, yet saying nothing worthy—but professing merely to make a narration, or confession, or some of these more modest things.

It seemed to the only one of our parents left to care for us, our mother, that being so far educated, as became boys of no mean gifts and training, we should go to an orator with the intention of becoming orators. We went, and those who were judges said that we should be orators in no long time; for my own part, I neither could nor would say so, though there was no thought of these present surroundings, nor as yet any foundation of the causes which were potent to bring us hither. But in his watchfulness, the divine leader and guardian, without our relatives' knowledge or intention of ours was at hand counselling one of my instructors, who had been charged with quite another

duty, namely, to teach me the language of the Romans, not in the expectation of my becoming proficient, but that I might not be wholly unversed in that language. It happened that he had some acquaintance with law. He (my divine guardian) put it into my mind and inclined me through that man to learn Roman law. The man was persistent in this, and I was persuaded, more to please him than from any taste for the study. When he got me to be his pupil, he began to teach me zealously, and declared what my experience has since proved to be most true, that an acquaintance with law would be an excellent passport—ἐφόδιον he called it—whether I elected to become an orator, one of those who plead in the courts, or to embrace any other calling. He made this assertion, using the word in a human sense, but it seems to me that he delivered himself under some inspiration more divine than he supposed, for when, with my consent or not, I had become a student of these laws, the toils were fast about me, and the cause and occasion of my journey hither was the city of Berytus, a city which is not far distant from these parts, and is very Roman, and has a reputation as a school of these laws. As for this holy man, he was moved and removed from Egypt and the city of Alexandria, where he formerly had his residence, to this place as if to meet us, by other matters. It is not in me to explain them aright, and I willingly pass them over. Yet so far there was no great necessity for my coming here, and for

my union with this man. So far as law was concerned, we might even have gone to reside in Rome. How, then, was it brought about? The then governor of Palestine had taken a relative of mine, my sister's husband, suddenly, reluctant alone, without his bedfellow, and brought him hither to aid him and share in the toils of governing the people, for he was a lawyer, and perhaps still is. He came with him, but intended shortly to have his wife, whom he had sent for, being vexed and unwilling to be separated from her. So while we were purposing to reside abroad, it is true, but anywhere rather than here, a soldier suddenly came in upon us with orders to escort and see to the safety of our sister on her way to join her husband, and to bring us as her companion. Thus we should be doing a favour to our relative, and most of all to our sister, in seeing that she lacked nothing of dignity and comfort on the journey, and to our home and kinsfolk, who applauded our resolution, and be accomplishing¹ somewhat not alien to our purpose, should we proceed to Berytus and there study law. Everything therefore impelled me: my desire to serve my sister, my own studies, and also the soldier (for mention should be made of him also), with authority for the use of several of the public vehicles, and orders for a considerable sum, more on my account than on my sister's. These things were apparent: but the other things not apparent

¹ Reading *διαπραξομένων*, as Koetschau suggests.

but more true, our communion with this man, our true learning concerning the word through him, the help of our soul to salvation, these led us unseeing and unknowing, but to our salvation. So it was not the soldier, but a God-sent companion and good escort and defender¹ who has preserved us all through this life as through a long wayfaring, that altered all our plans and our thought of going to Berytus, which we imagined was our chief incentive, and brought and settled us here, doing and moving all things until he should bind me by all means to this man, the cause of so much good to me. But he, my God-sent angel, having come so far and handed his charge over to him, perhaps in a manner rested, not from any weariness or fatigue (for the race of God's servants is unwearying), but because he had committed me to a man who would—if it were possible—fulfil all his providence and care.

VI. And he took us over, and from the first day, veritably the first day, the most precious of all days—if I must say so—when first the true light began to rise upon me, began by using every device to bind us firmly, us who were like some wild beasts, or fishes, or birds, fallen into snares or nets, trying to struggle out and escape away, and wishful to depart from him to Berytus or our fatherland. He used every turn of language, pulled every string,

¹ This is curiously like the petition of the Greek evening office (Robinson, p. 36). Ἀγγελον εἰρήνης, πιστὸν ὁδηγόν, φύλακα τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν, παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου αἰτησώμεθα.

as they say, employed every resource of his abilities, praised philosophy and those enamoured of philosophy in long numerous and apt eulogies, insisting that they only lived the life befitting the reasonable beings¹ who studied to live rightly, who "knew themselves," first their own nature, and secondly, the things essentially good which a human being ought to follow after, and the really evil things which he ought to avoid. He reproached ignorance and all the ignorant, and they are many, who, like younglings blind of intellect, knowing not even what they are, erring like irrational creatures, utterly ignorant and unwilling to learn what good or evil is, rush and fly as if after good things, after the possessions and opinions and esteem of the multitude, and after bodily comforts, reckoning these things of much, nay, the utmost, value, and after such of the arts as can furnish these forth, and after such callings as can provide them, military service, the civil service and the practice of law. He laid special stress on the things which were exciting us, while—said he—we were neglecting the chief of our endowments, namely reason. I cannot now tell how many sayings of this sort he was wont to utter forth urging us to philosophise, and not one day only, but all those early days when we first resorted to him transfixed by his word as by a dart, and in our new youth (for he was compounded of a certain

¹ Οἱ λογικοὶ with Origen means all the intelligences, man included, who participate more or less in the Logos. See *In Joannem* and *De Principiis*, *passim*.

sweet grace and persuasiveness and a certain cogency), while we were still casting about and considering and essaying to philosophise, but not yet fully decided, yet withal somehow unable to draw back, and attracted to him by some constraining power greater than his words. One could by no means reverence the Lord of all—this faculty of which man alone of all things living on the earth has received the privilege and honour; probably every one, whether wise or simple, possesses it, who has not utterly lost his understanding through some infatuation—he used to declare, and that truly, that true religion was utterly impossible to one who did not philosophise. Heaping such sayings one upon another in great number, he would carry us away like enchanted creatures finally rendered completely motionless by his arts, and settle us I know not where by his arguments, with a power which was divine.

Furthermore, something else was striking the goad of friendship into us, no easily resisted thing; that was the keenness and great urgency of his ability and good disposition, which shone so benevolently upon us in his very tones as he discoursed or talked, trying not to get an easy victory over us in argument, but by his able and kindly and genuine ability to save us and render us partakers of the benefits of philosophy, and especially of those which the Deity had granted to him particularly in greater measure than to most men, perhaps than to any of the present day, having granted to him of religion

the saving Word who visits many and operates in all as many as He may approach (for there is none who can resist Him who is and is to be King of all), yet is hidden and not comprehended easily, nor even with effort, by the many, so that when questioned they can state aught clearly about Him. Like some spark kindled within my soul there was kindled and blazed forth my love both toward Him, most desirable of all for His beauty unspeakable, the Word holy and altogether lovely, and toward this man his friend and prophet. Deeply stricken by it, I was led to neglect all that seemed to concern me : affairs, studies, even my favourite law, home and kindred there, no less than those among whom I was sojourning. One thing only was dear and affected by me : philosophy and its teacher, this divine man—and the soul of Jonathan was knit with David.¹ This I read subsequently in the sacred writings, but I had by that time experienced it no less distinctly than it is written, distinctly prophesied though it is. For it says not merely Jonathan was knit to David ; but the noblest parts, the soul, which even though the parts apparent and visible to man are severed, cannot themselves be forced to severance by any device, and in no wise against their will. For the soul is free, and can be confined in no way—"you would not keep it shut up in a cell."² For the first prin-

¹ 1 Sam. (1 Regg.) xviii. 1.

² Cf. Demosthenes, *De Corona*, p. 258 (§ 97 Bekker). In *De Principiis*, i. 1, Origen sets forth the current philosophical doctrine that the soul is independent of local conditions. The

ciple of its being is to be where Reason (*νοῦς*) is, and if it seem to be in your cell, it is only there in a secondary sense, as imagined by you, and is in no wise hindered thereby from being where it may wish to be. Rather by all manner of means it must in reason be believed that it can be in the place and in the relations where the energies suitable to it alone reside. So is not my experience most plainly and succinctly explained in the saying about the soul of Jonathan being knit with the soul of David?—these which, as I said, will never be prevailed on against their will to be sundered, and are little likely to desire it of their own will. For I do not think that it is for the worse, which is manifold¹ and too easily persuaded to change, that the power to dissolve these holy, these dear bands was given—they were certainly not riveted on us originally for that end—but for the better, which is stable and not easily shaken; for which end rather these bands were fashioned and this holy bond. Now it was not the soul of David which was knit to the soul of Jonathan by the Divine Word, but contrariwise the soul of the inferior is spoken of as being affected and being knit to the soul of David. For the better,

divine mind being simple and self-contained can move and operate without expansion or contraction or any addition or circumscription. Our own mental activity is dependent of spatial conditions. . . Its vagaries in sea-sickness or fever are the fault of the body, which under strange conditions receives the motions of the mind in a disordered fashion, and serves it with a coarser touch (*acuminis ejus ictus obtusiore ministerio dispensare*).

¹ The philosophical maxim : cf. *De Oratione*, 21.

being self-sufficient, would not choose to be knit to that which is inferior to itself. But the inferior, as needing the assistance of the superior, required to be bound intimately to the better, that that which remains constant might take no harm from its association with the worse; while that which in itself is irregular might, being knit and fitted to the better, do no harm, but might by the constraint of the bonds be won over to the better. Wherefore also, to fashion the bonds was the part of the more excellent, not of the worse; but to be bound so as not even to have the power to cast loose from the bonds, the part of the worse. By some such constraints, this David having enlaced us has held us from that day until now, unable, even if we would, to loose ourselves from his bonds. Even if we depart abroad, he will not cease to hold our soul thus knit according to the divine saying.

ORIGEN'S DIALECTIC

VII. Thus taking us from the first and encompassing us about on every hand, when he had toiled much, and seemed to have come to a standstill, then he treated us as a skilled farmer would some field, wild and either nowise good soil, but salt and parched, shallow and sandy; or else not utterly fruitless or unfertile, but though rich, yet dry and untended, rough and encumbered with thorns and wild bushes;¹ or as a vine-dresser

¹ For the figure of the soil cf. Clement, *Strom.* i. 320; Redepenning, i. 68 n. 3.

would some stock, either wild and devoid of fruit, yet not wholly useless, if one by the vine-dresser's art should take a cultivated shoot to engraft, slitting it in the middle, and inserting the graft, and binding it fast, and should then tend them till both shot together as one (for you may see a tree mixed and bastard, fruitful out of barren, bearing the fruit of the good olive on wild roots) ;¹ or a wild tree, yet not useless to the skilled nursery-man ; or a tree cultivated, but uselessly luxuriant, or leafless and sapless and dry from want of attention, choked by the excessive growth of superfluous shoots, hindered from shooting to perfection and bearing fruit by its neighbours. He found us in somewhat the same condition, and with his husbandman's skill surveyed us, and not only observed the faults beheld of all and openly to be seen, but dug down and searched to the inmost recesses, asking and propounding and hearing us answer. When he perceived anything which was not useless and unprofitable and ineffectual in us, he broke the ground, turned it over, watered it, used every device, applied all his skill and care, and wrought us into shape. The "thorns and thistles,"² and all the tribe of wild grasses and herbs which our mad and startled soul had sent forth and thrown up (for it was disordered and hasty) he cut out and pulled up with his inquiries and restraint, grappling with us in argument, and sometimes overthrowing us in true Socratic fashion if he espied us rushing off in

¹ Rom. xi. 17.² Gen. iii. 18.

all directions like wild horses,¹ plunging out of the track and running aimlessly about, until by persuasion and compulsion, as if by the bit of reason in our mouth, he rendered us quiet to his hand. It was difficult and not without discomfort to us at first, as he produced his reasons to us unaccustomed and not as yet practised in following the argument as he produced it; yet he reformed us. When in any respect he had made us fit, and prepared us well for the reception of the words of truth, then, as in ground well wrought and softened, ready to foster the proffered seed, he brought it on without stint, making his sowing in due season, and in due season all the rest of his attentions, performing each in the appropriate way and with the appropriate instruments of reason. Whatever was dulled or spurious in the soul, whether it was so constitutionally or had become gross from excessive bodily nurture, he quickened or restrained with the fine reasonings and turns of the reasonable affections, which from the simplest beginnings twine round one another, until they result in a web from which there is no means of escape. These roused us like sleepers, and taught us to adhere constantly to the tasks set before us, and not to weary because of their length or their minuteness. What part was uncritical and hasty in us, as when we agreed with whatever presented itself, even though it happened to be false, or often contradicted, even though true statements

¹ Like Polus in the *Gorgias*, 471, or the description of the soul in *Phædrus*.

were made, this also he educated with arguments such as those above mentioned and various others, for this part of philosophy is many-sided. He accustomed us not to express our assent idly or fortuitously only to retract, but after exact investigation not only of the obvious—many opinions in acceptance and high repute here, thanks to some high-sounding utterance, had found a way into our ears as if true, although adulterate and false, and had snatched a verdict of truth from us ; these were soon exposed as unsound and unworthy our credence, vain counterfeits of truth, and he had no difficulty in exhibiting us as ludicrously deceived and giving our testimony in vain where it was of least avail ; other arguments again, worthy indeed of acceptance and with nothing specious about them, or else expressed in unconvincing language, and so considered paradoxical and utterly incredible, and thus rejected as false, and undeservedly vilified, then subsequently were understood by those who could follow them out and understand them correctly to be the truest and absolutely most incontestable of all, although previously reckoned as rejected and exploded. Well he taught us to consider not only obvious and evident, but sometimes erroneous and sophisticated arguments, to probe each and sound it to see whether it gave any echo of unsoundness ;¹ and to have grounds first for our confidence in ourselves, and so to have grounds for our agreement with others or for

¹ Plato, *Philebus*, 55 C.

our own utterances. In this manner he gave us a reasonable training for the critical part of our soul—as regards words and arguments not after the fashionable rhetoricians' judgment whether this or that is Hellenic or barbarous in expression, that small and trifling and unnecessary study, but a study most necessary to Hellenes and Barbarians, to wise and simple, in short (that I may not become tedious in detailing every art and occupation) to all men, whatever manner of life they elect; since indeed all men in their common conversation about any subject whatever have an interest and concern in not being deceived.

SCIENCE

VIII. Not only [did he guard against] this form of deception, which Dialectics alone can rectify, but he also raised up the humility of our souls, which were amazed by the great and marvellous and manifold and all-wise workmanship of the universe, and which wondered unreasonably, and were fluttered with astonishment, and, like irrational beasts, knew in no wise how to account for things; he awoke and raised that up by other studies, namely Physics. He explained each existence, both by resolving them very skilfully into their primary elements, then by reversing the process and detailing the constitution of the universe and of each part, and the manifold variation and change in every portion of it, until carrying us on with his wise teaching and arguments, both those which he

had learned and those which he had discovered, concerning the sacred economy of the universe and its faultless constitution, he established a reasonable, in place of an unreasoning, wonder in our souls. This divine and lofty science is taught by the study of Nature (*φυσιολογία*) most delectable to all. What need to mention the sacred studies, Geometry dear to all and irrefragable, and Astronomy whose path is on high? These he impressed on our souls, teaching, or recalling, or I know not how to term it, making the one (Geometry) the unshaken foundation of all knowledge and the secure groundwork, and leading us to the most exalted heights by means of Astronomy, making as it were heaven accessible to us by "the ladder reaching up to heaven" of either study.

PHILOSOPHY, ETHICS

IX. And that which is the crown of all and the chief labour of the philosophic tribe, which expects as from a plantation of many species, so from all other studies and long philosophisings, the good fruits of the divine virtues regarding conduct, from which comes the untroubled and well-balanced condition of our soul's impulses, and which was destined to render us free from pain and unaffected by any evils, well-ordered and well-balanced, and truly God-like and happy; this, too, he laboured with his own wise and gentle, nay, more, most cogent reasonings concerning our manners and ways. It was not by words only, but in a manner by deeds,

that he directed the impulses within us by the very vision and consideration of the soul's impulses and passions. For the proper understanding of this is the most fitting way for our soul to recover herself from disharmony, and change her confusion into the considered and well-ordered ; that having beheld herself as in a mirror with her very beginnings and roots of evil, with all her unreasoning part from which our strange affections spring, and with her good, her reasonable part, under whose control she remains unharmed and unaffected, that recognising these elements in herself clearly, she might¹ cast out and get rid of all the growths of the worse portion, which make us profuse in excess, or lower and hamper us through meanness, such as pleasures and lusts, or griefs and fears, and all the train of evils that follows these breeds, that she might assert herself against them all at their very beginning and sprouting, and might not allow them to grow when they were small, but destroy them and make them to disappear ; and again, that she might nourish and preserve so many things as originate in the better portion and are good, and that she might nurse them as they arose and guard them to perfection. For so, he taught, would the divine virtues accrue to the soul. Wisdom, which first can judge these very motions of the soul in themselves, and from the accruing knowledge about things external to

¹ The confusion is Gregory's. K. suspects an error in the text.

us, of good and evil ; and Temperance, the power which chooses these things rightly on principle ; and Justice which renders each his due ; and, the salvation of them all, Courage.

Moreover, he did not accustom us to the current doctrine that Wisdom was the mere knowledge of things good and evil, or of things to be or not to be done—a vain and unprofitable study this, if the argument were divorced from action, and Wisdom did not do the things which ought to be done, and turn aside from the things which ought not to be done, but only afforded the knowledge of such things to them that lay hold upon her, like many whom we see : or, again, the view of Temperance that it is a science of things to be chosen or not, as it is quite misrepresented by other philosophers, especially the more recent, for as high-sounding and forcible as are their utterances. I have often marvelled at such, while they demonstrated that the virtue of God and of men is identical, and that on earth the wise man is equal to the supreme God. These teachers are incapable of conveying Wisdom so that one should do the works of Wisdom, or Temperance so that one should actually make choice of what he has learned ; similarly with Justice ; and still more with Courage. It was not in this fashion that our teacher discussed the theory of the virtues with us : rather he exhorted us to their practice, and that more by his example than by his precept.

X. I beg of the philosophers of the present day,

whom I have known personally, or have heard mentioned by others, and of all other men, not to refuse to stomach what I have just said, nor on any account to think that I am biassed by my friendship for this man or yet by hatred of other philosophers. I am as desirous as any one to be kindly disposed towards them for the sake of their teaching, and as wishful to speak well of them and to hear their praises fairly spoken by others. Yet these praises are of such a character that the very name of philosophy is brought into contempt on almost every hand, and I would well-nigh rather be utterly unlearned than learned in anything professed by them, whom I have settled not so much as go to hear for the rest of my days—perhaps I do not think rightly. So, I say, let no one suppose that I am speaking in this strain from any jealousy for the praises of this man, or from that other¹ jealousy of philosophers outside his school; but lest we seem to flatter, let such be assured that our praises come short of his deeds as we furnish forth not words and names and artful occasions of laudation. Why, even when I was a lad learning the ordinary rhetoric from a rhetorician, I could not endure to utter any encomium which was not true; and certainly now, when I have no intention of laudation, I do not think that I must exalt him by the simple plan of censuring others. I should indeed have slandered him if, for the sake of saying something great about him, I had con-

¹ Hesiod, *Works and Days*, II.

trasted the faults of others with his own happy life. We are not so foolish. I shall simply confess my own experience without any word of comparison or attack.

XI. He was the first and only one to direct me to Greek philosophy, persuading me by his own manner of life to listen and adhere to the study of ethics. For all that the other philosophers said, I had never been persuaded (I confess it again), which was not right, and had almost been to our misfortune. I had, certainly, not met with many in my first experience, only with some few professed teachers; but they all made philosophy consist in mere phrases. He, however, was the first to incline me to philosophise, by his words, it is true, but anticipating their impulse by his deeds. He did not merely pronounce studied phrases; he never thought of speaking unless he did so with a mind sincere and striving to give effect to his utterances, either endeavouring to present himself such as the man desirous to live a good life, whom he described in his discourse, or exhibiting himself—I had intended to say as an example of the wise man; but since the word from above enjoins truth upon us and not flattery, I will not yet call him an example of the wise man; though to say “wishful to be wise” is the truth. But let that pass. Not a perfect pattern, then, but very wishful to conform to it, constraining himself with all diligence and zeal, if it may be said, even beyond mortal power; striving to make us others of the same

sort, experienced masters not merely of theories about our impulses, but of the impulses themselves; pressing words up to deeds, and carrying with the theory itself no small part of each virtue, perhaps the whole, if we had the capacity; forcing us, if the word may be used, to just action through the proper action of the soul,¹ to which he persuaded us to apply ourselves; leading us away from the manifold business of living and the irksomeness of the market-place, lifting us to survey ourselves and to do our own business in reality. That right action is this, and this the genuine justice, some also of the ancient philosophers have declared, asserting that to do one's own business is most efficacious for the happiness both of oneself and of those with whom one has to do, inasmuch as it is the business of this virtue to allot what is fit and to each one his own. Now what else would be the soul's own affair, or what so befitting it, as to give heed to itself, not looking without, nor meddling with others' affairs, nor, in short, "sinning the greatest sin" against itself, but turning within upon itself and giving itself up to itself, thus doing right? Thus he taught us forcibly, if that is the word, the practice of justice. In precisely the same

¹ ἰδιοπραγία. For this sense cf. Clem. *Strom.* vi. 803, τῷ τελείῳ γὰρ οὐκ ἐν συμβολαίοις πολιτικοῖς οὐδὲ ἐν ἀπαγορεύσει νόμου, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἰδιοπραγίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν ἀγάπης, ἡ δικαιοσύνη, also Athenagoras, *De Resurrectione*, 22 f. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μήτε τῆς λεγομένης ἰδιοπραγίας τῶν μερῶν ἐπὶ τῆς οὕτως ἐχούσης ψυχῆς εὐρεθῆναι δυναμένης.

way, he taught that prudence consisted in the soul's remaining self-contained, and in the desire and endeavour to know ourselves, this the noblest task of philosophy, which is ascribed to the most prophetic of spirits as the prime maxim of wisdom—"Know thyself." That this is the true work of wisdom and this the divine wisdom, is well said by the ancients, and that the virtue of man and of God is veritably the same, when the soul studies to see herself as in a mirror, and also mirrors the divine mind in herself (if she become worthy of such fellowship), and traces out the unutterable path of this apotheosis. And so, consequently, with Temperance and Courage: we are temperate, he said, when we preserve the wisdom of the soul which knows herself, if it has accrued to her, for this in turn is Temperance, a certain saving knowledge; and we are courageous when we stand firm in all these attainments, and decline from them neither wilfully nor under compulsion, but guard and keep these attainments: such is this virtue, inasmuch as it is a saviour and custodian of precepts.

XII. On account of our "sloth and sluggishness"¹ he has yet to make us just and wise, and temperate or brave, despite his urgency. We neither possess, nor have come near to possessing so much as one virtue human or divine, far from it. For they are exceeding great and lofty, and none of them may be grasped or attained by any but

¹ *Iliad*, xix. 411.

him to whom God inspires power: but we are not so gifted by nature, and would never profess that we are worthy to attain this gift, neglecting as we do, by reason of our sloth and weakness, all the things which befit those who are earnest after excellence and suitors of perfection. So we have yet to become just or temperate, or to possess any other virtue. But we are lovers, loving with a most ardent love, which was long ago effected—perhaps he only had the power—by this admirable man, the friend and advocate of the virtues, who by force of his virtue implanted in us the love of the beauty of righteousness, whose golden face he showed to us, and of prudence (φρόνησις) the desire of all, and of the true wisdom (σοφία) most delectable, and of temperance, of divine aspect, which is the balance of the soul and peace to all who possess her, and of courage¹ most admirable,

¹ Salmond translates, "and for patience, that virtue peculiarly ours," quoting the Stuttgart editor's note. "It does not appear that this should be connected by apposition with ἀνδρείας. But Gregory, after the four virtues which philosophers define as *cardinal*, adds two which are properly *Christian*, viz. *patience*, and that which is the hinge of all—*piety*." The distinction between φρόνησις and σοφία is Aristotelian, and the addition of δσιότης or εὐσεβεία to the original four virtues was made by Plato himself. See Grant, *Ethics of Aristotle* (2nd ed.), i. 144, 177, and his notes on ii. vii.; Plato, *Protag.* 349 B; Clement, *Strom.* vi. 803. For the courage of the Gnostic see Clement, *ibid.* vii. 870 and 838. Hort-Mayor's note on the latter is conclusive against Salmond's translation. "Ἀνδρεία was said to be concerned περὶ τὰς ὑπομονάς (Stoics *ap.* Stob. *Ecl.* II. 104). In P. 632 ἀνδρεία is said to be ἐν ὑπομονῇ καὶ καρτερίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τάττεται καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη καὶ ἡ σωτήριος φρόνησις."

our patience, and above all, of piety, the mother of all virtues properly speaking. It is indeed the beginning and end of all virtues. Starting from this we should most easily acquire the others, if we first desired and pressed on to obtain for ourselves this, the privilege of every one not godless or a lover of pleasure;¹ so that we might not approach God unworthy and defiled, but conducted by all virtue and wisdom, as by some good sponsor (πομπός) and most wise priest. And the end of all is none other, I think, than to draw nigh to God, being made like unto Him, in a pure mind, and to remain in Him.

THEOLOGY

XIII. As for all his pains and zeal in the teaching of theology, and his carefulness, how should I enter into the very soul of the man, and detail here with what purposed judgment and preparation he taught us all the doctrine concerning God, and how he was on his guard lest we should be imperilled concerning the most essential of all, to wit the knowledge of the Cause of all. He thought it right that we should philosophise, and collate with all our powers every one of the writings of the ancients, whether philosophers or poets, excepting and rejecting nothing (for we had not the necessary discrimination), save only those of the atheists, who have taken leave even of ordinary common sense in a body, and

¹ Cf. 2 Tim. iii. 4.

deny the existence of God or Providence. It is unfitting for us to read them, lest our soul be defiled by the mere contact, while it purposes religion, yet hears words contrary to the service of God; unfitting even for those who frequent the temples of an erroneous piety to so much as touch things defiled. Their works, said he, were not even to be enumerated by men who had entered on the profession of religion. But he urged us to become acquainted and conversant with all the others, neither espousing nor rejecting any school or theory in philosophy, whether Greek or Barbarian,¹ but to give a hearing to all. In this he acted wisely and cautiously, lest some one argument in these or those teachers should be heard and approved by itself as the only true one, though it might as a matter of fact be unsound, and should enter into our souls, and being set in an exceptional category make us its own, unable to dismiss it or to cleanse ourselves of it, like fleeces dipt in some fast dye.² For the argument of men is a wondrous and insinuating thing, ever changing the hue of its sophisms, and swift to enter in at the ear and impress and project itself on the intellect, and having persuaded those whom it has

¹ "Clement mentions the philosophy of the Indians, Getæ, Celts and Druids. This, together with the Jewish sects, forms the barbarian philosophy." Denis, p. 11 n. But "the barbarian philosophy" with Clement usually means revelation, just as he regards philosophy as a sort of Covenant to the heathen. In *Strom.* vii. 829, he terms revelation τὴν ἀρχαιοτάτην φιλοσοφίαν. Gregory (c. i.) terms Christianity τὴν καλὴν φιλοσοφίαν. See Hort-Mayor, p. 201.

² Plato, *Rep.* iv. 429 E.

once captured to love it as being true, there to remain within, even though it be false and deceitful, gaining a hold like some enchanter, having its very dupe for its champion. So again, the human soul is readily deceived by argument, and easy in her acquiescence, and ready before she will sift and investigate every turn, to surrender herself an easy prey in many cases to false arguments and dogmas, erroneous and causing error in those who hold them,¹ because of her own dulness and weakness, or because she grows weary of accurate investigation, by reason of the subtilty of the argument. Not only that, but if another argument wish to rectify it, she will not now advance to it, nor be persuaded to change, but remains fast held by the argument to which she has already given lodgement, as if some inexorable tyrant held her in his power.

XIV. Has not this induced the conflicts and oppositions of dogmas and the quarrels of philosophers, some taking their stand against others' dogmas, and others holding by some dogmas, or devoted to others; all intent on philosophising, and proclaiming aloud the occasion of their first impulse, declaring their desire to be no less now, that they are grown old in argument, than when they began; nay, that they have the greater love for philosophy now they have enjoyed the savour of it, so to say, and continued familiarity with arguments, than they had when from their pristine ignorance they were carried off by a sudden impulse to philosophy?

¹ Cf. 2 Tim. iii. 13.

Such professions they make : but they never give ear to any argument whatever adduced by those who differ from them. So that no one of the ancients converted any of the younger or the Peripatetics to turn to him and philosophise his philosophy, nor contrariwise ; in sooth no, not one. After all, one would not readily be persuaded to set aside his own notions and give his adherence to others, perhaps the very views which he might have embraced in the first instance, had he been led to them before entering on the pursuit of philosophy, views which, when his soul was as yet unprejudiced, he might have adhered to and cherished, and because of them be as much opposed to those which he now entertains.

Such things have our noble and most reputable and critical Greeks professed as philosophy. Whatever each chanced to be driven to first by some impulse unconsciously, them and them alone he pronounced true, and all the other arguments of other philosophers, deceit and babbling. No more in his clinging to his own views, than the others in their championship of their several peculiarities, had he anything like reason, to prevent him being compelled to change his allegiance and his convictions, either by force or argument. For, to tell the truth, he had no impulse to philosophy save that unreasoning one to the dogmas in question, and no other criterion of what he opined to be true than uncritical chance (if it be not paradoxical to say so). Each one loved the things he had chanced first on, and

fettered, as it were, by them, he was no longer able to attach himself to others. When he did have something to say which, if he had only possessed the help of reason, would have demonstrated the complete truth of his own views and the falsity of his opponents', through want of its help, he threw away his case, and surrendered himself an easy prey to the arguments which had obtained the first hearing. Arguments of this sort have betrayed those who entertained them in many matters, but notably in the greatest and most necessary of all, the knowledge and recognition of God. Yet they remain in them, bound in a manner, and now it is too late to extricate them without the greatest difficulty: as from a quagmire in a plain very broad and hard to traverse, which will not let those who have once fallen in escape, either by running back or going on, but holds them in its grasp¹ until the end; or as from a forest deep and dense and tall, which a wayfarer enters thinking to come out and set himself once more on the open ground beside the fence;² but by reason of its extent and density he cannot, and revolving many things in his mind, and discovering certain paths within, he traverses many, one after the other, in the hope that perhaps he will come out by some one of them but they lead inward, and by no means outward, for they are as it were forest tracks only;

¹ Reading *κατέχοντος*. The text is *κατέχοντας*, which Koetschau takes in a middle sense, "but must remain there."

² The Stoics compared philosophy to a garden, of which Logic was the fence.

until at last the wayfarer, weary and out of breath, forasmuch as everything has become forest, and there is no longer any resting-place on the earth, is fain to establish his hearth and remain there, and make him room in the forest as best he can ; or as from some labyrinth,¹ wherein one door is seen, into which some one, suspecting no complication from the exterior, enters by that one door which appears, then proceeds to the very heart, and sees many a sight and a structure most cunning and devious and sophisticated, with many entrances and exits ; but when he wishes to come out, he is unable, for he is held a prisoner in the structure which he thought so curious. There is no labyrinth so inextricable and confused, or forest so thick and devious, no plain or quagmire so dire to hold those who wander into it, as an argument, in the experience of some of our philosophers.

Now, that we might not share the common experience of most men, he did not introduce but one philosophical argument, nor did he allow us to seek after them unaccompanied ; but he introduced us to all, for he wished us to be unacquainted with no one of the dogmas of the Greeks, and he himself went in along with us, and preceded us, and led us by the hand as in an exploration, in case anything crooked, or hollow, or adulterate should crop up by the way. In that case, as one well practised, and from his long acquaintance with arguments neither unaccustomed nor inexperienced, he himself

¹ Plato, *Euthyd.* 291B.

would remain above in safety, and, stretching forth a hand to us others, would draw us up like baptised ones. Everything in each of the philosophers that was useful and true he used to pick out and set before us, and sift out what was false, especially whatever concerned human piety.

SCRIPTURE

XV. (XIV. Lomm.) As regards this latter subject, he counselled us to pin our faith to no man, even though he were testified to by all men as most wise, only to God and His prophets. He himself would interpret and make clear whatever was dark and enigmatical, such as are many utterances of the sacred voices, whether because it is God's wont to speak thus to man, that the Divine word may not enter in bare and unveiled¹ to some soul unworthy, as most are ; or else, although every oracle of God is naturally most clear and simple, yet by reason of time and antiquity it has come to seem indistinct and dark to us who have revolted from God and have unlearned how to hear ; whether I cannot say. But he made them clear and brought them into the light, whether they were enigmas—for he was a wondrous hearer to God, and of most excellent understanding—or contained nothing naturally crooked or incomprehensible by him. This gift was his alone of all men whom I have known personally, and the others whom I have

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 47.

heard holding discourse, insomuch as he had studied the clean and light-giving precepts of the oracles,¹ to keep them in his own soul and teach them to others. For the Chief of them all, who gives utterance to the prophets and suggests every prophecy and every mystic and divine word, had honoured him thus, and set him for His friend and advocate. By this man He made plain teaching of the things which He had only uttered in riddles by other men;² and to this man He granted to search and seek out the reasons of such things as He, being faithful,³ commanded royally or proclaimed, in order that if any one were either obstinate of soul and unbelieving, or anxious to learn, he might learn of this man understanding and belief, and be forced in a manner to choose God and to follow after Him. And he declares these things, methinks none otherwise than by communion with God's Spirit; for the same power is requisite both to those who give utterance and to those who give ear to prophecies; one would not hear a prophet except the very Spirit which prophesied had bestowed upon him the understanding of its words. Such a maxim is contained in the Scriptures, namely, that he only that shutteth, openeth, and none other whatsoever. Now, it is the Divine Word that openeth the closed doors, making the dark things plain.⁴ This greatest gift hath our

¹ Ps. xix. 8.

² Ps. xlix. 2; S. John xvi. 29.

³ Heb. x. 23, etc.

⁴ Apoc. iii. 7; Isai. xxii. 22; xlv. 2, 3; lxi. 1.

friend accepted from God and this goodly portion from Heaven, to be the interpreter of God's words to men, to understand the things of God as God's utterances, and to set them forth to men as men hear. Therefore there was nothing unutterable to us, for there was nothing inaccessible. We were privileged to learn every word, Barbarian or Hellenic, mystic or published, divine or human, traversing them all with the fullest freedom, and exploring them, bearing off from all and enjoying the riches of the soul, whether it was some ancient study of the truth, or whatever else it might be termed, we engaged in it possessed of that wonderful preparation and mastery full of the fairest visions. In a word, this was indeed our Paradise, imitating that great Paradise of God, wherein we needed not to till the earth below,¹ nor to minister to the body and grow gross, but only to increase the acquisitions of our souls, like some fair plants engrafting themselves, or rather engrafted in us by the Cause of all.²

XVI. (XV. Lomm.) This is truly the Paradise of Delight, this the true joy and delight, wherein we have delighted in this time that is now come to an end, no short time, yet all too short if it last only to this point now when we must leave and depart hence. I know not what I have suffered or yet sinned that I am going, am driven, forth. What to say I know not, but that I, a second Adam from Paradise—I had even begun to say. How pleasantly I lived, hearing the master speak,

¹ Gen. iii. 23.

² Cf. S. James i. 21 ; S. Matt. xv. 13.

myself silent. Would that I had learned to hold my peace even now and be silent, and not—strange spectacle this—make the master the hearer. For what need to me of these words? Why address these complaints, when I ought not to depart, but to continue here? These seem to me the discords of the ancient beguilements, and the Judgments of the ancients await me still. Again, I seem to myself to be disobedient, daring to overstep the words of God, when I should continue in them and with them.¹ But here I am, going away a fugitive from this blessed life, no less than was that man of old from before the presence of God, returning to the earth from which I was taken. Dust therefore shall I eat all the days of my life there, and I shall labour the ground,² which shall bring forth thorns and thistle to me, my griefs and reproachful cares, since I have cast off the noble and good cares, and am returning unto the things I had left behind, to the earth whence I came, to my kindred here below, and to my father's house,³ forsaking the goodly land where my good fatherland was of old, but I knew it not, and kinsmen whom I began too late to know that I had them as kindred to my soul, and our veritable father's house, where our good father abides, and is reverently esteemed and honoured by the true sons who are content to abide there. But I, irreverent and unworthy, go out from among them, turning behind and running back.⁴

¹ Cf. S. John xv. 7, 9.

² Cf. Gen. iii. 19, 14, 17 ; iv. 28.

³ Cf. Gen. xii. 1.

⁴ Gen. xix. 26.

A certain son¹ is said to have taken the share which fell to him with his other brother, and to have gone abroad from his father to a far country, such being his will, and living dissolutely, to have squandered and made away with his patrimony. At last in his extremity he hired himself to feed swine, and being compelled by hunger he was fain to share even the swine's meat, but got not even that. He paid the penalty of his dissoluteness, exchanging his father's table which was royal, for what he had not foreseen, the swinish food of serfdom. Such we are likely to suffer when we depart, and that not even with the portion which falls to us. Yet though we have not taken what we ought, we depart leaving fair and noble things with thee and beside thee, exchanging them for the worse. For there will receive us everything sullen; tumult and distraction after peace, after a calm and ordered a disordered life, after this freedom bitter slavery, markets and courts and crowds and wantonness. We shall no longer have any leisure whatever for better things, nor speak the Divine maxims, but shall speak of the works of men,² to be sure some simple one was what the prophet meant, but we of wicked men. Truly it will be night after day, and after bright light darkness, and after rejoicing grief, that will receive me, and after one's own country a hostile land, in which I may not sing a holy song (how could I in a land strange to my soul, whercin continuing I cannot go

¹ St. Luke xv. 11.

² Ps. xvi. 4.

unto God ?¹ only weep and groan as I remember the things here, if any will vouchsafe me even that.

Enemies are said to have once come up against a great and holy city,² where the Deity was served, and to have dragged away the inhabitants, both singers and divines, to that same land—Babylon it was—and those thus brought in would not, though required by their masters, hymn God, nor raise psalmody in a polluted land, but hung their instruments of music on the willows, and wept “by the rivers of Babylon.”³ Methinks I am one of those, driven out from this my holy city and native land, wherein by day and night are proclaimed the sacred laws and hymns and songs and mystic words, and the light is that of the sun without ceasing,⁴ where by day we hold converse with the mysteries of God, and at night we follow in our imaginings the things which the soul saw and did in the day, where, in a word, the divine inspiration is everywhere. From this land I am driven out and am borne off a captive to that strange land where I shall be unable even to pipe⁵ when I have hung my organ as those did, on the willows. Yet I shall be by the rivers, but shall work clay,⁶ and shall have no desire to sing if I remember, nay, perchance from

¹ Cf. Ps. cxxxvii. 4 ; xlii. 2.

² 2 Kings xxiv. xxv.

³ Ps. cxxxvii. 1-3.

⁴ Apoc. xxi. 24.

⁵ Ἀνλεῖν. “Bengel supposes that the verb is changed in order to convey the idea that while the Jews only had to give up the use of instruments expressive of joyful feeling, Gregory feared he would himself be unable to play even on those of a mournful tone.”—Salmond.

⁶ Exod. i. 14.

other evil-doing I shall even forget, being despoiled in my memories. And if I go away not against my will, like a captive, but willingly, expelled by no enemy but by myself, when I might have remained, perhaps when I go hence I shall not travel in safety, but like one who has left a safe and peaceful city, it is likely indeed that as I journey I shall fall among thieves,¹ and shall be taken and stripped and wounded with many wounds,

And somewhere lie abandoned, left for dead.²

XVII. (XVI. Lomm.) But why do I make these lamentations? There is the Saviour of all, the Nurse and Physician of the half-dead, and of all the victims of robbers, the Logos, the Sleepless Watcher of all men. There are also seeds within us,³ both what thou hast proved us to possess, and what we have received from thee, thy good counsels. With these we depart, weeping as we go forth, but bearing these seeds. Perhaps our guardian will stand over us and preserve us. Perhaps we shall return to thee again bearing the fruits and the sheaves of these seeds;⁴ not perfect (how could they be?), but such as we could win from the deeds of public life, damaged it is true by some power unfruitful or of evil fruit, but destined to gain no aid from us in destruction if God approve.

XVIII. (XVII. Lomm.) Here let my speech come to an end. I have been bold where it little

¹ S. Luke x. 30.

³ I Jno. iii. 9.

² An iambic senarius in the original.

⁴ Ps. cxxvi. 6.

became me, yet I think, with such good will and thankfulness as lay in my power, who have said nothing worthy the subject, yet have not been utterly silent. I have lamented too, as those who leave home and friends are wont, in a boyish fashion which has no maturer—or is it more studied?—way of ingratiating itself; but there is unfeignedness about it, I know well, and thorough truth with its healthy mind and sincere and unspoiled attachment.

XIX. (XVIII. Lomm.) But do thou, dear Head,¹ rise and bless us as thou sendest us forth. Thou hast been our salvation while we frequented thy holy instruction. Save us with thy prayers also when we are gone. Hand us over and commit us, yea hand us over to the God who led us to thee, with thanksgiving that He has prevented us hitherto, and entreaties that He may guide us in the future also, standing by us in all things, instilling His commandments into our minds, implanting within us His godly fear, which will be our best guide. For when we are gone, we shall not hearken to Him in that same freedom which we enjoyed with thee. Entreat some consolation to come to us for our parting from thee; send some good escort, some companion angel. Ask too that He may turn us again and lead us unto thee. That above all things will be our consolation.

¹ Cf. above, p. 46.

ORIGEN'S LETTER TO GREGORY

Philocalia, XIII. (Robinson, p. 64; Lommatzsch, Vol. XXV., p. 26; Koetschau, p. 40.)

When and to whom philosophical learning is useful for the exposition of the Holy Scriptures; with Scripture testimony.

I. Greeting in God, sir, my most excellent and reverend son Gregory, from Origen.

Mental ability, as thou knowest, reinforced by practice, can undertake work which leads to the expected end (if I may use the expression) of that which one wishes to practise. Thine ability is fit to make thee an accomplished Roman lawyer, or a Greek philosopher in some one of the schools esteemed reputable.¹ But my desire has been that thou shouldest employ all the force of thine ability on Christianity as thine end, and to effect this I would beseech thee to draw from Greek philosophy such things as are capable of being made encyclic or preparatory studies to Christianity,² and from geometry and astronomy such

¹ Cf. *In Joannem*, ii. 4; *supra*, p. 23.

² There are many passages to the same effect in Clement, e.g. *Strom.* i. 331, προπαιδεῖα τις οὖσα—vii. 3, 20, P. 839, φιλοσοφία δὲ ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ οἷον προκαθαίρει καὶ προσθίξει τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς παραδοχὴν πίστεως, ἐφ' ἣ τὴν γνῶσιν ἐποικοδομεῖ ἡ ἀληθεία. His classical passage is *Strom.* vi. 780.

things as will be useful for the exposition of Holy Scripture, in order that what the sons of the philosophers say about geometry and music and grammar and rhetoric and astronomy, that they are the handmaidens of philosophy, we may say of philosophy itself in relation to Christianity.

2. Possibly something of this sort is hinted in the passage in Exodus,¹ which was written from the mouth of God, saying that the sons of Israel were to ask from their neighbours and fellow-residents vessels of silver and of gold and raiment, that having spoiled the Egyptians, they might have material for the construction of the things, of which they received the patterns, unto the worship of God. For from the things of which the sons of Israel spoiled the Egyptians were constructed the things in the Holy of Holies, the ark with its crown,² and the cherubim, and the mercy seat, and the golden pot in which was stored the manna, the bread of angels. These, it is likely, were made from the finest of the gold of the Egyptians, and from the next finest the candlestick of solid gold near the inner curtain, and the lamps on it, and the golden table whereon were the loaves of shew-bread, and between the two the golden altar of incense. If there was any third- or fourth-best gold, from it were fashioned the golden instruments; and from the silver of Egypt other things were made. For from their sojourn in Egypt the sons of Israel gained this, to have a good provision

¹ Exod. xi. 2, 12, 35, etc.

² Exod. xxv. 11.

of so much precious material to use in the worship of God. From the raiment of the Egyptians, too, there was probably made so much as was required of sewed-work,¹ as the Scripture calls it, the needle-workers sewing together with the wisdom of God these garments to those, to make the coverings and the outer and inner curtains.

3. But what need for me enlarging unseasonably and reconstructing the many things in which the goods taken over from Egypt were useful to the sons of Israel, goods which the Egyptians did not put to their proper use, but which the Hebrews by the wisdom of God put to the use of religion?

But again, the Scripture knows that to some the going down from the land of the sons of Israel into Egypt proved evil, thereby conveying that to some the going to dwell with the Egyptians, that is with the learning of the world, after having been nourished in the law of God and the Israelitish worship of Him, turns to evil. Ader the Edomite,² so long as he was in the land of Israel, not having tasted the Egyptian loaves, fashioned no idols. But when he fled from the wise Solomon and went down to Egypt, as having fled from the wisdom of God, he became a kinsman of Pharaoh by marrying his wife's sister, and begetting a son who was brought up among the sons of Pharaoh. Wherefore, though he had returned to the land of Israel, he had returned only to rend asunder the people

¹ Exod. xxvii. 16.

² Hadad, 1 Kings xi. 14, etc.

of God, and to make them say of the golden heifer, "These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt."¹

Having learned by experience, I would assure thee that he is rare who takes the useful things of Egypt, and comes out of it, and fashions the things for the worship of God ; but there is many a brother of the Edomite Ader. These latter are they who from some Greek liaison beget heretical notions, and as it were fashion golden heifers in Bethel, which being interpreted is the house of God. And the word seems to me to convey by this that they have set up their own figments in the Scriptures, wherein the Word of God has His house, which in a figure are called Bethel. And the other figment, the word says, was set up in Dan. Now the borders of Dan are the uttermost, and next to the heathen borders, as is evident from what is written in Joshua the son of Nun.² Near, then, to the heathen borders are some of the figments which, as we have set forth, the brethren of Ader have fabricated.

4. But do thou, sir my son, first and foremost attend to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, yea attend. For we need great attention in reading the Scriptures, that we may not speak or think too rashly about them. And, attending to the reading of the divine oracles with a closeness faithful and well-pleasing to God, knock at its closed places, and they shall be opened unto thee by the porter

¹ 1 Kings xii. 28 ; Exod. xxxii. 4, 8.

² Josh. xix. 40.

of whom Jesus said, "To him the porter openeth."¹ And attending to the divine reading, seek rightly and with unwavering faith in God for the mind of the divine letters, hidden from most. Be not content with knocking and seeking ; for most essential is the prayer to understand divine things. To this the Saviour urged us when he said not merely, "Knock, and it shall be opened unto you: seek and ye shall find" ; but also, "Ask, and it shall be given unto you."²

These words have I ventured of my fatherly love toward thee. Whether they are well ventured or not, God perchance knows and His Christ, and he that partaketh of the spirit of God and the spirit of Christ. Would that thou mightest partake, and ever increase thy participancy, that thou mightest say not merely, "We are become partakers of Christ,"³ but even "We are made partakers of God."

¹ Matt. vii. 7 ; John x. 3. ² Matt. vii. 7 ; Luke xi. 9.

³ Heb. iii. 14.

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